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GLORY TO THE BRILLIANT AND IMMORTAL WORK OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA!

THE WORK OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA LIES AT THE FOUNDATIONS OF EVERYTHING ACHIEVED IN THE PRESENT-DAY ALBANIA.

HIS NAME AS THE ARCHITECT OF THE NEW SOCIALIST ALBANIA AND HIS WORK LIVE AND WILL LIVE THROUGH THE CENTURIES.

ENVER HOXHA — the founder and leader of the Communist Party of Albania, today the Party of Labour of Albania, (by Sh. Hysa)
GREAT SORROW FOR THE PARTY AND THE ENTIRE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

OUR BELOVED LEADER, COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, IS DEAD

Comrades, communists, workers, cooperativists, intellectuals, women and youth of Albania, veterans of the National Liberation War and compatriots,

With great sorrow and deep grief we inform you that today, on 11 April 1985, at 02.15 hours, the heart of the beloved and glorious Leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, General Commander of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, ceased to beat.

The founder of our glorious Party, the organizer and leader of the National Liberation War and our people's revolution, the architect of the construction of the new socialist Albania, departed from us. The heroic Commander of our National Liberation Army, the Man who created the Democratic Front and laid the foundations of the People's Power, closed his eyes.

The life and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is the living history of the present-day Albania. His name is connected with all the class battles and all the victories of the Party and the Albanian people.

His thought and personality have always been present in all the stages through which our people have gone, from the day when the Communist Party was founded to this day, at any moment when the fates of the people and the Homeland hung in the balance. His leadership and guidance have been decisive at all the key moments when decisions were made on the course to be followed and the battles to be waged.

A staunch revolutionary and a devoted patriot, Comrade Enver Hoxha was the first among the Albanian communists to understand the great historic need for the creation of the Communist Party, the only staff capable of uniting the people and leading them in the war for the liberation of Albania and the establishment of the people's power. His great historic merit is the creation of this staff, of strengthening it organizationally and educating it ideologically at the very grave moments of the fascist occupation and oppression, and the betrayal of the nation by the old political forces. At the head of the Party, He drafted and worked out the general political line of the National Liberation War, found and defined the roads to the achievement of the victory of 29 November 1944, in fierce clashes with external and internal enemies, with opportunists and factionalists.

Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Party united the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front. He was the initiator and organizer of the historic Conference of Peza. For the first time in their history our people achieved their fighting unity on the basis of a platform which expressed their genuine desires and aspirations. It was this unity which faced up to the savage forces of the fascist occupiers and traitors to the country.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the direct organizer of the National Liberation Army. Under His command, our glorious partisans fought with unrivalled heroism within and beyond the borders of Albania, and with the support of the patriotic forces of the whole people, liberated our beloved Homeland.

The people's power and the new Albanian state, which were born in the heat of the National Liberation War, are built on the revolutionary thinking and leading activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Under His care and according to His teachings, the people's councils became the powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the democracy for the masses, and of the construction of socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha drafted and worked out the program of magnificent transformations and the construction of the new socialist society. The victorious battles for the industrialization of the country, the building of all the monumental projects which gave the country its new working class and a powerful base for its all-round economic and social development, were waged under the leadership of the communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.
Relying on Marxism-Leninism and knowing the sufferings and centuries-old aspirations of our patriotic peasantry, Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the fundamental orientations for the collectivization and modernization of agriculture. The correctness of the road mapped out by the Party is clearly seen in the present reality of our cooperativist village.

Comrade Enver Hoxha led the Party and the people in the deep-going ideological and cultural revolution which has been carried out in our country. If Albania today is an advanced socialist country which develops on its own forces, the land of people freed from any social and spiritual oppression, the land of democracy and well-being for all, of education and culture for the broad masses of the people, all this is due to the struggle which the Albanian people have waged with the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

There is no field of political, ideological and social activity of our Party and state in which the philosophical thinking, the organizational power and leading activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha have not been manifested. He has worked out the general line of the foreign policy and stands of our Party and state over international questions. This policy, firm opposition to American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and world reaction, sincere support for the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, and solidarity with the democratic and anti-imperialist forces, has strengthened the international position of our country, has increased the sympathy and respect for socialist Albania in the world, has increased the number of its friends and well-wishers.

Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Party of Labour of Albania has waged a heroic struggle against modern revisionism. No one has defended the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin against opportunist distortions with such great revolutionary feeling, at any time and in any situation, as he did, no one has exposed the social-imperialist and social-chauvinist policies and activities of the Titoites, the Khruschevites and other renegades, as he did.

No one has fought with such energy and determination against the internal enemies of the Party, the factionalist groups and foreign agents from Koçi Xoxe to the gang of Mehmet Shehu, as he did. This struggle has saved our Party, people and Homeland.

Comrade Enver Hoxha ranks among those outstanding revolutionaries who have made a great and special contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking bearing on all the questions of the revolution and the construction of socialism. His summing up of the experience of the liberation war and the practice of the building of our new society, His analyses of the processes of current world development and their conclusions of great ideological value, serve as bearings and reference for the day-to-day revolutionary activity.

As a true internationalist, He has tirelessly supported the new Marxist-Leninist parties and their revolutionary struggle, has always stood by them and attentively followed their struggle for their consolidation and advancement.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the greatest historic figure of our people and nation, which will illuminate the road for the present and coming generations with its undying light. He will live for ever beloved, honoured and respected in the hearts of all the communists and our people. With His Work and teachings, He will always stand by them in order to inspire them in their struggle and work for the good of the Homeland and communism.

Let His ardent call addressed to the Albanian people on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland:

«Let us guard what we have achieved as the apple of our eye, let us go on consistently to develop it further, to leave the coming generations an Albania ever stronger, always red, like the undying flame of the hearts and ideals of communists and partisans, an Albania which will live and progress through the centuries. I am convinced that the people and the Party will raise our triumphant flag higher and higher, will raise the honour, prestige and name of socialist Albania higher and higher in the world,» remain always our battle flag.

This is the unanimous pledge which our Party of Labour and the whole Albanian people take today.

In these moments of deep sorrow over the loss of our beloved Leader, comrade and teacher, Enver Hoxha, let us strengthen our steel unity and close our ranks even tighter round the Party and its Central Committee, let us mobilize even more our forces so as to make our Albania what Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted it to be, strong, prosperous and advanced, let us work tirelessly as He worked and fought for half a century on end in order to raise its name ever higher.

Glory to the brilliant and immortal Work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

THE PRESIDIUM OF THE PEOPLE’S ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE’S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE’S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALBANIA

Tirana, April 11, 1985
step the beloved Commander in glorious battles, those said «Party-Enver» as soon as they began to speak, welcome to bid him their last farewell. Little children who the camp-fires of the war together with him, have bania, General Commander of the Armed Forces of the Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Al­bania, General Commander of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, lies in state.

It is set on a red silk pedestal with innumerable wreaths of deep sorrow. No one can accustom himself to the bitter news. No one can bring himself to believe that the man they had known and sheltered in the years of the underground movement, prepared and printed the first number of the newspaper «Zeri i popullit» in their village in the mountains, the Shijaku family, the mother of the People's Hero Nuri Luçi, is deeply grieved, like all mothers.

Our People pay homage and bow in deep respect and gratitude to Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Mother Shaho is deeply grieved, like all mothers. Words can hardly come out of a hurt heart, but those that do come out have a crystal ring because they well up from the bottom of the soul.

«When you wished him 'A long life to you, Comrade Enver',» says Mother Shaho. «I have met him several times and it seemed to me as if I met my brother Ali.» The entire Shijaku family, the brother of the People's Hero, Ali Kelmendi.

«Enver will go to your sons,» says Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.

When you wished him 'A long life to you, Comrade Enver'; he will see them, meet them and recall the past with them.«

«Man dies, but the Party never dies,» says Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha. «Enver will go to your sons,» says Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.

«When you wished him 'A long life to you, Comrade Enver';» he would reply 'A long life to the Party!’ We will turn this great sorrow into a source of strength,’ says comrade Shefqet Peçi. «Let us mobilize ourselves to fulfill all the tasks and plans because we have got a trembling hand and lays on it a bouquet of flowers with the inscription «Seven Red Flowers of Farewell to Our Dear and Unforgettable Grandfather: Valbona, Ermal, Dritan, Shpat, Shkelzen, Blerina, Besnik. Tirana, April 12, 1985».

Then, in one of the halls of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, representatives of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the youth, the women, the People's Army and the people's intelligentsia express their sympathy to Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and the other members of the family of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Trembling with the emotion of the great loss, Mother Luçi, the mother of the People's Hero Nuri Luçi, and the martyr Jashe Luçi.

«My sympathy! Be courageous! Live long the Party!» says Ali Kelmendi, the brother of the People's Hero, Nuri Luçi.

«You have been the first to set the example how to behave in these circumstances, You have got two sons killed who cemented the foundations of today's Albania with their blood,» says Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.

«When you wished him 'A long life to you, Comrade Enver';» he would reply 'A long life to the Party!’ We will turn this great sorrow into a source of strength,’ says comrade Shefqet Peçi. «Let us mobilize ourselves to fulfill all the tasks and plans because we have got a trembling hand and lays on it a bouquet of flowers with the inscription «Seven Red Flowers of Farewell to Our Dear and Unforgettable Grandfather: Valbona, Ermal, Dritan, Shpat, Shkelzen, Blerina, Besnik. Tirana, April 12, 1985».

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The party, which is strong and pure, as Comrade Enver Hoxha left it.

The 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA was held here on 12, 13 and 14 of April. The meeting was organized in cities, work and production centres, as well as in the schools. Everywhere there were expressions of deep sorrow and respect for the brilliant and immortal work of the beloved and great Leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha against all the external and internal enemies of our country.

At the end of the discussion, Comrade Ramiz Alija said:

"You created the Party, and made it strong, and the Party will live for ever, with you in its mind and heart. We have come here today to give you the commemorative medal of the 40th anniversary of the Party. Take it with you, and as the Party will live in your mind and heart, let the Party be forever with you, too." 

Comrade Ramiz Alija sticks the commemorative medal on the chest of our beloved Leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Then, they honour with the raised clenched fist the unforgettable memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

* * *

The work and memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha is honored with deep respect all over the country. On 12, 13 and 14 of April, mourning meetings and rallies were organized in cities, work and production centres, agricultural, cooperatives, military detachments and schools. Everywhere there were expressions of deep sorrow and grief for the death of the beloved Leader. The working masses are also expressing their unshakable determination, through their work and deeds, and implement with determination the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the road of the construction of socialism.
ENVER HOXHA AND HIS WORK
LIVE AND WILL LIVE FOR EVER

Comrade RAMIZ ALIA, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and Chair man of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, speaks at the memorial rally organized in the «Skanderbeg» Square
WE ARE PARTING FROM THE GREATEST MAN THAT ALBANIAN SOIL HAS EVER BROUGHT FORTH, THE NEW ALBANIA, OUR BELOVED LEADER, OUR DEAR COMRADE, ENVER HOXHA.


When the country was being trampled under the feet of the fascist darkness, only such a Man could feel the gravity of the task which had been assumed by the Albanians. Fascist darkness, only such a Man could feel the gravity of the task which had been assumed by the Albanians. He was not disturbed because they did not understand what was required and where they must go. What Enver Hoxha understood and presented with such clarity and conviction from his first speech at the meeting of communists for the founding of the Party was that the sufferings and misfortunes of the Albanian people were no longer only from the foreigners. Only such a Man, who not only felt, but also understood politically and ideologically what was the responsibility and duty of the Party and the people, could understand that without fighting with the same determination and the same rare political courage and profound ideological visionism, the Albanian people could not realize what was the road for the salvation of the Homeland. The great act which Enver Hoxha accomplished in that dark and troubled November of 1941 by founding the Communist Party gave the Albanian people the light they were lacking, gave them the mind to see the future, gave them the staff which would enable them to overcome the common task with struggle. The burden which the Albanian communists assumed at that time was heavy and their shoulders were not only broad but had a great leader who knew very well of the Party and the platform of the National Liberation Front, the Albanian national leader Enver Hoxha when being in the leadership of the Party, at the head of the National Liberation Front and in command of the partisan army, made its achievement possible.

The people followed the communists and accepted their leadership not only on account of their valour, their courage, their sacrifice and self-abnegation, but also on account of the profound importance and indeed very great importance, but it was not decisive. The decisive thing was the fact that the call of the Party and the platform of the Albanian communists for the expulsion of the foreign occupiers and the establishment of the people's power expressed their true desires, their age-old dreams. We have said and say that the National Liberation War was the greatest our people have ever waged, although they have waged many wars, have shed torrents of blood and have suffered incomparably more than in wars of windows. The National Liberation War led by the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, was great, because of its ideas and, above all, because of its results. It alone led to securing the true national freedom and complete independence of the Homeland and, above all, it alone established the people's power. The whole conscious life of Comrade Enver Hoxha has been struggle. Struggle for the freedom of the Homeland, struggle for the construction of socialism, struggle for the emancipation of the people, struggle for socialism and communism, for the creation of the new man, for the realization of the aspirations of the masses, for the establishment of the people's power. From that day until the present, it is the history of the founding of the Communist Party given the Albanian people. A true desire, a true wish for the salvation of the Albanian people, a true wish to recognize the Democratic Government which came down from the Albanian mountains, nor was shaken by their political pressures or economic blockades.

The Albanian people, with the Party at the head, withstood that long diplomatic struggle with rare pride and crushed with an iron fist the efforts of reaction and foreign agents to undermine and overthrow their people's power. Through the mouth of Enver Hoxha our people told those who were seeking to return us to the former slavery: We are not a country to lay a finger on the borders of Albania have not yet been born just as they told the Khrushchevites that the Albanian people would stand with their heads, strong and firm, to the borders of Albania, and not yield to their pressures.

This courage and this dauntless stand lie in the foundations of the Albanian fortress, therefore, it has always been strong and impregnable against any wave or tempest from whatever direction it might come.

The figure and rare personality of Enver Hoxha stood out with special brilliance at the time when the opportunity betrayed covered the international communist movement. Our Party of Labour, with Comrade Enver at the head, did not allow modern revisionism to pass in Albania. And it did not pass because Enver Hoxha had tempered the Party in stern political battles in defence of independence and socialism and educated it so that it would always remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism and would be irremovable to the end to ideologies hostile to the proletariat.

The ideological struggle against modern revisionism, waged with consistency and determination has remained and will remain an integral part of our socialist development, it has been and will be another permanent duty of our Party and people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha was the architect of New Albania, the organizer and direct leader of all those revolutionary transformations which have been carried out. The Party and the Albanian people, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, have completed the monumental works which have changed the appearance of our country.

The Party of Labour of Albania mobilized and led the people to turn Albania from a poor country into a developed country. Comrade Enver Hoxha has worked out and defined the economic line of the Party. The policy of the industrialization of the country, the collectivization and modernization of agriculture, bear the brand of His creative and original thinking. He has been the inspirer of our Party and people, and he is the architect of the growth and development of our economy.
the foundations of the construction of the economic base of socialism in Albania. There is no project which has been in our country in which his initiative and thinking are absent. From the re-building of the first bridges destroyed during the war to the building of the first power station, from the first repairing of homes burnt by the occupiers to the metallurgical combine, from the first establishment of the socialist society continually forward, an inexhaustible source of energy to cope with any situation.

Our Party and people have always been guided by these teachings and have always emerged triumphant. And so it will be in the future, too. The unity of the people around the Party will always be like steel. Any external or internal enemy who tries to weaken the Party's unity is like a stone; our socialist victories will smash his head against its walls.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is an outstanding figure of international communism. Just as he was an ardent partisan, he was an ardent internationalist. His struggle and work devoted to the progress of the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat, the defence of Marxism-Leninism, and the support of the cause of the national and social liberation of peoples represent a brilliant example of dedication to communism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha always raised his powerful voice in defence of the national and democratic rights which belong to our Albanian brothers of Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia. On account of this correct, just and principled stand he became and remains loved, respected and honoured by all Albanians.

The revolutionary theoretical and practical work which Comrade Enver Hoxha has left us is a wonderful example of how to work as a party leader and statesman. By his work as a party leader and statesman comprise an example to which the present and future generations will turn in order to learn and find guidance.

The figure of Enver Hoxha is great and many-sided. There is no field of the political, ideological and social activity of the Party and state and in which his philosophical thinking, organizational strength and leading activity have not been expressed. A man who combined the qualities of the Marxist thinker and leader of the revolution, the military commander and statesman, the diplomat and publicist, the erudite intellectual and educator of the masses, the fiery orator and friend of the common folk is rare indeed.

Our people have been and will always be proud of this great son of which they gave birth, and we will always be proud of our outstanding leader which it had. The greatest honour for the Work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the greatest glory which has been given to the Party and the people is to proceed resolutely on his revolutionary course, to master and put into practice his immortal teachings, to work and build as he worked for the cause of socialism and the communist world.

Today we are parting with Comrade Enver Hoxha, but he lives and will live for ever in the hearts and minds of the Albanian people. He is immortal, because His work is immortal, because the socialist Albania which He built is immortal.

His last Work, Laying the Foundations of the New Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha closed with the belief that no harm would come to Albania as long as the people and Party are linked as closely as flesh to bone. Let us raise the prosperity, security and name of our People's Socialist Republic higher and higher, He told us. In the name of the bloodshed and toil, the sweat and privations let us transmit to the coming generations the great message which history has taught us: we must always be vigilant, always at work and on the attack to defend the victories achieved and carry them further forward. We must allow no one, whoever he may be, to violate and negate our immortal and sacred work, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. In this way our fortress, socialist, internationalist Albania will be raised higher and higher, even more majestically from generation to generation! Let our hearts beat always with its great heart!

Our Party will never forget this message. Just as Comrade Enver wished, its heart will always beat as His great communist heart beat, as the heart of our glorious people beats.

Comrade Enver left us a free and independent Albania, with a strong and reliable defence, with a developed and stable economy, an Albania without debts or obligations to anyone. He left us an Albania with a Party and state as the greatest safeguard of the interests of the people and the State, of the unity of the people around the Party which He founded and led is immortal, because socialist Albania which He built is immortal.

For the work which Comrade Enver Hoxha has left us is a significant example of how the Party and the people must act. Let us proceed in the way of work which Comrade Enver Hoxha has left us, with determination on this broad road which the Party and our whole people, the working class, the intelligentsia, the veterans of the war and the Party that it must always remain loyal to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and all the experience of the revolutionary struggles of the world proletariat, must wage the class struggle correctly and must carry out the motor which carries human society forward, must defend the people's power unwaveringly, the powerful weapon which the proletariat must use, and must be irreconcilable with imperialism and revisionism, with bourgeois and opportunist ideologies. He taught the Party and people how to build socialism and how to defend the country with our own hands. He taught us that in our country and never bend the knee to foreigners.

Nothing can turn the Party and our people from their path. Their path is from the principled policy, the policy of Enver Hoxha. In the future as in the past, the Party, its leadership, our workers, our farmers, our doctors, our class, the collectivist peasantry, the youth, the women, the intelligentsia who have passed through the war and the soldiers will always march forward on that road which the People's Revolution opened and which the leading activity have not been expressed. A man who combined the qualities of the Marxist thinker and leader of the revolution, the military commander and statesman, the diplomat and publicist, the erudite intellectual and educator of the masses, the fiery orator and friend of the common folk is rare indeed.

Our people have been and will always be proud of this great son of which they gave birth, and we will always be proud of our outstanding leader which it had. The greatest honour for the Work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the greatest glory which has been given to the Party and the people is to proceed resolutely on his revolutionary course, to master and put into practice his immortal teachings, to work and build as he worked for the cause of socialism and the communist world.

Today we are parting with Comrade Enver Hoxha, but he lives and will live for ever in the hearts and minds of the Albanian people. He is immortal, because his work is immortal, because the Party which he founded and led is immortal,
The morning of 15th of April 1985 found us again wrapped in sad silence, lined up at the «Martyrs of the Nation» Boulevard, in order to pay the last homage to the outstanding leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Grief over the loss of their most beloved son has overwhelmed them.

9.00 o'clock, with deep grief, Party and state leaders enter the hall to pay the last homage to Comrade Enver Hoxha.

«Come closer, comrades. Come closer so that we can embrace this, among us, as we have always had him and will always have him, because we have his teachings. We shall lovingly follow the road of Comrade Enver! Goodbye, Comrade Enver!» says Comrade Ramiz Alija.

Party and state leaders observe silence by the body of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the founder of the new Albania, and honour his brilliant memory with the raised fist salute.

Other moments of deep grief follow the entrance into the hall of Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the wife and collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha. No children, sisters and relatives, who pay the last homage to their most beloved man.

Likewise, comrade from the Marxis-Leninist sister parties of Britain, Michael Hamilton, of Denmark, Claus Ris Clausen, of Ireland, Liam Digan, of Canada, Harddalin, of Portugal, Eduard Pires, of Spain, Raoul Marche, of Sweden, Nils Anderson, of Trinidad Tobaggo, Whinston George, paid homage and laid wreaths.

The clock strikes ten. This is a moment when people cannot suppress their sobs. Party and state leaders come out of the hall of the Presidium of the People's Assembly bearing on their shoulders the body of the beloved Enver, covered with the national flag. They carry on their shoulders their unforgettable beloved teacher. They walk slowly down the steps and emerge at the square in front of the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The hearse is placed on the carriage of a gun.

To the tune of funeral music, the procession advances slowly along the «Martyrs of the Nation» Boulevard towards the «Skanderbeg» Square. The guard of honour is followed by a group of military men carrying red cushions with the high decorations of «People's Hero», «Hero of Socialist Labour» and many orders which Comrade Enver Hoxha was awarded by the People's Assembly, Innumerable wreaths, coming from all over Albania, are carried by students of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana. People lining either side of the boulevard weep over the loss of the legendary leader of the National Liberation War and the heroic role of the construction of socialism.

When the procession comes abreast of the premises of the Central Committee of the Party, people hold their steps with a flutter in their hearts. Everyone looks up painfully in the direction of the window of Comrade Enver Hoxha's bureau. It is open. When he rose from his desk he stood at this window and was filled with joy to see people strolling calmly and happily in the boulevard. His glance, his thinking, embraced the 28 thousand square kilometres of our beloved soil. Throughout his life he fought, worked and thought of these people, devoted everything he did to these.

11 o'clock. The «Skanderbeg» Square is thronged as rarely before. The whole of the capital has come out in this square; representatives from all the districts of the country have come to this square, too. Four large-size portraits of Comrade Enver Hoxha and slogans reading «Glory to the brilliant and immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!», «We must make Albania as Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted it to be», «Let us close our ranks ever more tightly around the Party and its Central Committee», «We must strengthen our steel unity», «Party, Enver — we are always ready!», etc., rise above the crowd.

The flag of honour lines up in front of the central tribune set up at the monument to Gjergj Kastrioti — Skanderbeg. The car pulling the gun carriage pulls up.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alija, Comrade Adil Çarçani, Hajredin Çeliku, students of the «Enver Hoxha» University, Comrade Ramiz Alija, Adil Çarçani, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Haki Toska, Sheqefet Peçi, Spiro Koleka, Xhafer Spahiu, Pilo Peristeri, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the wife and collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and members of his family mount the tribune.

The war veterans, who hold firmly in their hands the fighting flags of the partisan brigades divisions and Comrade Enver Hoxha, as the greatest man the Albanian soil has produced until today, as the founder of the new Albania, our beloved leader, our dear comrade, brother and teacher.

After Comrade Ramiz Alija's speech, funeral tunes fill the whole square. As the procession begins to move towards the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation, the slogan «Party, Enver — we are always ready», is shouted in one powerful moving voice.

It is 12.30. Comrade Enver Hoxha comes to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation to remain there for ever as the Commander among partisans, as a hero among heroes. This is the final moment. The guard of honour presents arms. Party and state leaders again carry on their shoulders the hearse with the body of their dear comrade and teacher, the glorious leader of the Party and the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The coffin with the body of Comrade Enver Hoxha is descended into the grave. Sobs and weeping grow louder.

There is deep pain in every chest.

«There will be no death for Comrade Enver Hoxha, only his birthday will remain,» says Comrade Ramiz Alija to Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.
«Men like him do not die. There is only one date: 1908, the rest does not count.»

«We have a good leadership, we have a good Party,» says Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha. «You tempered it, you trained it, Enver. Now you have come to join your comrades of the time of war. They will have their General Commander close by them, but they do not rejoice at your coming here today. You fought for more than 40 years and now you are here to join your comrades. Long live the Party! We must have our Party strong!»

«He will live with the Party, with the people, eternally,» says Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Earth from the mother land which he loved so much, earth from his birthplace, from his Gjirokastra which he loved so much like the rest of Albania, from the courtyard of his dear home, is thrown into the grave...

Meanwhile, work is suspended in all the work and production centres of our socialist Homeland for five minutes. The whistles of factories, engines and ships give a painful shriek. A twenty-one gun salute is fired in the capital and a five gun salute is fired in the cities of Gjirokastra, Vlorë, Kruja, Korça, Peshkopia, Shkodra, Kukës, Berat, Durrës, and Elbasan. Red marble slabs are put over the grave. Marble slabs carrying the golden letters: «ENVER HOXHA 1908-1985». Party and slate leaders, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and members of Comrade Enver Hoxha's family, touch with trembling hands these golden letters which glow with eternal light, which will remain cherished for ever.

The National Hymn is executed. Fists are raised.

In these moments, when everyone is overwhelmed with grief, Comrade Ramiz Alia says:

«Rest in peace, Comrade Enver, because the people and the Party, with you always at heart and in mind, will march on the road you defined for them. And Albania will flourish, Albania will prosper, as you wanted it! Goodbye, Comrade Enver!»

Then, innumerable wreaths are laid over the grave. The wreath in the name of the Central Committee of the Party, carrying the inscription «To the founder of the Party and the leader of the people, our dear Comrade Enver Hoxha», was placed by Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Lenka Çuko. Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the wife and collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha, laid the wreath with the inscription «To my companion of life and war — Nexhmije». In the name of the Presidium of the People’s Assembly, the wreath was laid by Comrades Rita Marko and Pali Miska, in the name of the Council of Ministers by Comrades Adil Çarçani and Manush Myftiu, in the name of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania by Comrade Simon Stefani and Muho Asllani, in the name of the National Committee of the Veterans of the War of the Albanian People by Comrades Shefqet Peçi and Hajredin Çeliku, in the name of the Ministry of People’s Defence by Comrades Hekuran Ioli and Prokop Murrà. Wreaths were also laid by the children, sisters and relatives of Comrade Enver Hoxha’s family.

In the name of mass organizations, all departments and various central institutions, the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People’s Council of Tirana district, the inhabitants of the Palorto quarter of Gjirokastra, in the name of economic enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and institutions which bear the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the name of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party and the basic organization of the Party in which Comrade Enver Hoxha militated, and many other organs.

After this ceremony, the guard of honour parades to the tune of a military march.
The people pay homage to the grave of Comrade ENVER HOXHA

Thousands and thousands of people from all over the country, veterans of the war and work, workers and cooperativists, intellectuals, military-men, young men and women, members of «Pioneers of Enver» Organization, go up to the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation. With deep grief and weeping, they honour and respect the memory of the brilliant and immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha. They lay bouquets of flowers at the grave of the dear leader of the Party and people. In the book close by the grave they express in writing their heartfelt sorrow over the loss of the beloved leader, their boundless love and gratitude for the Party, and take the solemn pledge that, with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in their hearts and minds, they will march always forward on the road of the revolution and the building of socialism.

In the morning of April 17, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the wife and collaborator of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and other members of his family, came to pay their homages to his grave.

In the morning of April 18, Party and state leaders, Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People’s Assembly, and Comrade Adil Çarçani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Rita Marko, the candidates of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Foto Çami and Prokop Murra, secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Vangjel Çërrava, paid homage to the grave of our beloved comrade, leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, Comrade Adil Çarçani and the other comrades placed bouquets of flowers at the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Party and state leaders observe silence and honour with raised fists the unforgettable memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the legendary leader of the National Liberation War and heroic leader of the construction of socialism.

«Comrade Enver Hoxha will live for ever!» says Comrade Ramiz Alia to the people who had come to pay homages.

«Long live the Party!» they reply as one.

«We have a strong Party,» continues Comrade Ramiz Alia. «We have a strong people, a heroic youth, a wonderful working class. Comrade Enver Hoxha has left us many lessons, has left us a strong and flourishing Albania. Our people are linked closely with the Party. Now the duty of all of us is to carry forward this great work of the Party, this great work of Comrade Enver.»

«We’ll carry it higher and higher, Comrade Ramiz!» comes the reply from mothers, veterans, workers, young men and women. «We’ll put all our forces to it. Long live the Party-people unity!»

«Our strength lies in the unity,» says Comrade Ramiz Alia. «It has been and will always be the source of strength. The more united are we, the people and the Party, communists, non-party people, veterans, the youth, all of us, the better it will be, the strong will Albania become, more successes will we have in all fields. Long live the Party!»
BANNER OF STRUGGLE AND INSPIRATION

THE SORROW STILL EXISTS, BUT THE STRENGTH INCREASES

The Central Committee of the Party has received thousands of letters and telegrams from workers and cooperativists, women and intellectuals, militarymen and pioneers, young men and women, veterans and social activists, workers of education and science, many collectives and individuals from all over the Homeland, in which they express their great sorrow, as well as their great determination, and pledge to the Party, its Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, that they will march resolutely on its glorious road, on the road of the immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The builders of the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power station at Komani write: «The warm hand of Comrade Enver Hoxha has accompanied us, the builders of the big projects of light, in every step. We will mobilize ourselves more than ever to build the hydro-station quickly, responsibly and with quality, and will fulfill the pledge we made to Comrade Enver Hoxha two years ago that we will have the first turbine functioning by November 29 this year.»

The instructions Comrade Enver Hoxha gave us during his visits and cordial meetings with the people of our district will always remain fresh and important tasks for us, the letter of the Plenum of the Party Committee of Shkodra district says among other things. «And the firm pledge will always come out of our hearts as long as we live and will always mobilize us to accomplish the tasks, to overfulfill the plans, to temper our unity with the Party and the fraternal Albanian people, to strengthen our revolutionary vigilance.»

The builders of the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power station at Komani write: «The warm hand of Comrade Enver Hoxha, his work will always be for us a banner of struggle on the road of socialism.»

The entire population of Tirana, the whole of Skrapar, from the white-haired elderly to the little children, all the Party organizations, say with conviction: «Enver Hoxha will live and will live for ever.» The ideals of the Party, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, his work will always be for us a banner of struggle on the road of socialism.

We will turn our sorrow into strength, will increase our vigilance and energies to achieve good results in lessons, to grow up as revolutionaries of the Party, capable of carrying forward the revolution, and make our socialist Homeland flourish and prosper.» write the teachers and pupils of the «Small Qemali» general middle school in Lac. «The work of Comrade Enver Hoxha,» they stress, «will be the guiding compass in our work.»

«The parting with Comrade Enver Hoxha is one of the greatest sorrows our people have felt during their whole existence,» write the cooperativists of the Greek minority of Gjirokastër village in the Upper Drepull, Gjirokastër district. «His name and work will be enshrined in our hearts as long as we live and will always mobilize us to accomplish the tasks, to overfulfill the plans, to temper our unity with the Party and the fraternal Albanian people, to strengthen our revolutionary vigilance.»

At these moments of profound grief, »write the communists and the people of the town of Koplik, «we pledge with one voice that here, on the border, we will always be around the Party and its Central Committees. United to a man, we will honourably accomplish all the political and economic tasks on the basis of the program of the Party, the teachings and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.»

The work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, »write the workers of the «Ismail Qemali» general middle school in Laç. «The work of Comrade Enver Hoxha,» they stress, «will always come out of our hearts as long as we live and will always mobilize us to accomplish the tasks, to overfulfill the plans, to temper our unity with the Party and the fraternal Albanian people, to strengthen our revolutionary vigilance.»

The workers of the geological expedition at Qafë Prush of Tropojë district write, «We will forge ahead resolutely on the glorious road of the Party, the road of the immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.»

We have trust in our brave Party and its unshakeable Central Committee, »say in their letter the workers of the «11 Heroes» chromium mine at Batra of Martanesh. «United to a man around them, we will enhance our revolutionary mobilization and vigilance further, will fulfill and overfulfill all the tasks of the plan of the current year. The Party people unite is our source of strength.»

The entire population of Tirana, communists, veterans, workers and cooperativists, soldiers and officers, writers and artists, working people of education, culture and science, youth, pupils and students,» says the letter of the Plenum of the Party Committee of Tirana district, «are experiencing deep and unprecedented grief, because the most beloved Leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has gone from us. At work, in their homes, or on the streets, people talk to one another with tears in their eyes. Nobody wants to believe that the architect of the new Albania, the glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has closed his eyes and his heart has ceased to beat. For 45 years Tirana, like the whole of Albania, has been roused by the powerful voice of Enver Hoxha. For 45 years these streets, these doorsteps of humble homes, these squares of the reborn, flourishing Tirana, have heard his footsteps. The mothers of Tirana will never forget their beloved son. The houses and hearts of the people stood open day and night for the great leader of the underground struggle. Comrade Enver Hoxha will always be amongst us as the banner of struggle and living inspiration of the tribunes of congresses in the planets and combines, seething with life, in our family joys and people's manifestations, in the wise words of veterans and children's poems.»
The greatest honour we can render to the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is to march on his road, to work and fight like him.

The workers of the «Enver Hoxha» autotractor combine, just like all our people and the whole Party, pledged to Comrade Enver Hoxha that they will honourably keep the belovved name of their Leader, work even better, and raise it higher. On 20 April, at an enlarged meeting the workers and communists of the combine gathered to take up concrete proposals. From this meeting the revolutionary movement to win the lofty title «Champions of the application of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha», with well-defined directions and tasks, was launched. «Four are their main objectives,» write the working people of this combine in their order.

«First, we will work and fight as revolutionaries, at high rates, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has instructed us, and will fulfil this year's overall productive plan in all indices 5 days ahead of schedule; will increase work productivity 3 per cent above the level planned for 1986; will raise the level of mechanization from 92 to 93 per cent and increase the work norms in 10 thousand work operations on an average of 5 per cent; will lower production costs 18 per cent as against the level planned for 1987; will increase accumulation 3 billion leks above plan. An important objective is to strengthen the work for the patriotic and revolutionary movement on all fronts, while ever mastering the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and take the initiative to extend this movement to the sectors of education and culture, knowledge and education of the working people and young people. The concrete tasks to be done in this direction are: to deepen the application and teaching of revolutionary and patriotic literature, to strengthen the role of the educational and cultural work by raising the ideological level of the educational and cultural work; to ensure training in the ideological areas of the press and the media; to continue the work of the educational and cultural department of the combine in the field of physical-military training, to enhance the revolutionary vigilance, to advance the schedule of studies and designs, to increase the level of political work in the work. The concrete tasks in this direction are: to improve the ideological and political level of workers, to develop the work for the patriotic and revolutionary movement, to strengthen the work of the revolutionary movement. The concrete tasks are: to continue the work of the press and the media; to continue the work of the revolutionary movement in all sectors of the economy, and to further extend this movement with the following targets: to fulfill the annual plan of chemical ore extraction on 16 October, the birthday of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and quicken and speed up work so as to ensure a two years' reserve at the end of the year.

The workers of the «Hero of Socialism» copper wire plant in Shkodra decided unanimously to support the revolutionary movement of the «Enver Hoxha» autotractor combine. They pledged to fulfill the planned indices rhythmically and on a broad front. This year total industrial output will grow 83 thousand leks above plan, reduce production costs 18 per cent and increase the work productivity 3 per cent; will increase the net production of copper wire by 15 per cent and reduce cost by another 600 thousand leks. The workers of the copper wire plant, with the initiative to extend this movement from the press and the media, are turning their profound grief into a great force of energy to make Albania ever more prosperous, as Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted it to be.
LEAFING THROUGH THE WORKS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA WILL LIVE IN THE MINDS AND HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE FOR EVER

THE PARTY IN ACTION

We emerged from the Founding Meeting, at which we worked and fought day and night for our Communist Party, formed as a party of the new type, which would and did lead us, which educated and tempered us as communists with its glorious Marxist-Leninist ideology, led us in battle, taught us how to fight properly, how to think properly, how to understand and to be-have properly in everything. We would serve this party all our lives. The Meeting armed the Party with a clear, militant, Marxist-Leninist program, a program which, in broad outline, responded to the more immediate tasks which were set before us. With this program we launched ourselves into action. In the course of the work and the struggle we would be strengthened, the Party would be strengthened, the militant program of our Party itself would be better elaborated and completed. This program, which right from the start to this day, has been continually complete and strengthened, has been and still is a program of struggle and work, for the good of the Homeland and the people. We, the first communists, were sons and daughters of this people and the troubles and desires of our people, the struggle which they waged against their oppressors, were not unknown to us. Written and unwritten history had taught us these things. Our families had fought and were fighting in these events, and this class struggle, the struggle of different influences, armed clashes and fights with the pen and books had surrounded us when we were rocked in our cradles.

We, the future communists, grew up in the midst of this fire, these struggles, these physical and spiritual sufferings of our people, and we, the sons and daughters of this people, were tempered and taught in this great school of hardships and struggles. We learnt from the illegal struggle of the Renaissance fighters, from their brave deeds, and their writings, we learnt from the sufferings of the people during the First World War, we learnt from the resistance to and fight against aggressive and imperialist neighbours, we learnt from the terror, the killings and the starvation of the time of Zog, we learnt from the poverty-stricken peasant who dragged himself through city streets to sell a bundle of faggots, we learnt from the poor urban labourer who broke stone all day on the roads and was paid only 2-3 leks, about as much as the cost of a kilogram of bread at that time.

For us, the young communists of town and countryside, workers, craftsmen, peasants, field hands, porters and students, all these things were wounds on our backs, bullets in our hearts and lesions implanted in our minds. This whole situation, you might say, comprised the basis of our Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Party taught us this better. It told us that we must take up this weapon, fight with it and then we would certainly win life, win the new world. And in fact that is what happened. If you build the house on moral foundations it will never collapse.

That is what occurred with our Communist Party, the history of which is not like a fairy tale which grandmothers may have been young in age, but the ideology they embraced may have been young in age, but the people from whom they had emerged were an ancient, intelligent, wise, brave, and courageous people. And the ideology they embraced was of the class to which the future belonged, was the compass of that colossal force which would raise the world in revolution and head it towards socialism and communism. Therefore, the foundations of our Communist ideology, when they were built on sand, they were built on steel and concrete. One false step could have endangered everything, but such a step was never taken, and this is not due to luck, but to the Marxist-Leninist ideology and all those who were determined to fight properly, properly in order to defend the Party, who had decided to charge through shell-fire and bullets, through the demagogy and political trickery of occupiers and traitors, to push forward, hungry and barefooted through blizzards and snow to win freedom for the people, independence and sovereignty for their Homeland and to build the life which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin taught us. While the Meeting was going on no external accident occurred. The enemy detected nothing of what was being done. There were families near the house where the Meeting was held that sensed something, were aware that people had gathered there, stayed inside during the day and came out into the yard only at night to get some fresh air or for some necessity, but they never said a word. They all kept the secret. Indeed, we learned that one old man sat at the gate of his house at night and guarded the road in the darkness.

In those difficult days of fascist terror, as I mentioned above, around the house where the Meeting took place, we had placed guards who observed and investigated everything. In silence, watching for any suspicious movement, gripping the grenades and revolvers in their pockets, those marvellous sons and daughters, mothers and fathers of the people, performed a glorious task. Obviously, they were among the bravest and most trusted people, completely at one with us. Like us, they did not want peace with the occupier, and they participated in the great work, in the immortal deed of the First Appeal of the Central Committee of the Party, in the final, patriotic and revolutionary sons and daughters of the people, the first communists who served the Party from the day it was born, vigilantly, valiantly, until the end of their lives.

After the Founding Meeting, we, members of the Provisional Central Committee, held a series of meetings one after the other to decide on important measures to put into practice the decisions we had taken. The decisions had to be formulated in "The Resolution", had to be analysed and put into practice.

We divided the work among the comrades of the Provisional Central Committee. In the first place, we would work in the organization of the Party, but a certain division of work was made on the basis of districts or sectors...

The most urgent tasks were: the organization of the Party, the formulation of the Resolution and the First Appeal of the Central Committee of the Party, and the organization of the Communist Youth... The House where the Party was founded became the main centre where I worked and made contact with the main comrades. We organized the many other meetings in other bases. The small house where the Party was founded, had to look quiet, so it would not be noticed by the enemy and the spies, where surveillance and searches were savage. The movements of comrades in and out of that house were controlled and by appointment, not only for reasons of security, but also because we who worked there were up to our necks in work. Even by day we were obliged to work in semi-darkness in the office, which was the room in which the Meeting was held, because outside, from the columns supporting the steps to the far end of the house we had hung two blankets and had arranged a small place where we could go out, rest, and get some fresh air, without being seen by the neighbours. Hence, for us underground workers in the house this small corridor was a sort of "boulevard" where we could stretch our legs and get a little fresh air to clear our heads.

Every night until late we worked on the biographies of the comrades, noting their good points and their shortcomings. This was necessary for the setting up and organization of cells. The cells had to be mixed, with comrades from different groups. Although we did not have many women comrades we decided to set up cells with women comrades only, especially in Tirana, and we did set up one... But, we soon had to allocate several of the women comrades of this cell, who were more resolute on the new line of the Party, to other cells in which elements from the "Youths Group raised objections to the line and created political and organizational confusion. In other districts, indeed for a long
time in some of those, we had cells made up only of main­ly of women. As we decided at the Foundation Meeting, immediately after it we had to study and then we would allocate this work to the districts. We would con­centrate the political and organizational secretariats of the committees of the districts, and the Secretariat of the Regional Committee. We of the Central Committee appointed the political and organizational secretariats while the other secretariats would be ap­pointed on the spot, when the delegates of the Central Committee went there.

The preparations of the delegates who were to go to the districts to organize the Party, to appoint the committees, to explain the importance of the Foundation of the Party, to explain the principles, decisions and tasks of the Founding Meeting, was an immense and very intensive job which took us many days and nights. We had to go over and over everything, to be clear about and remember everything. We had to make very few notes and keep the list of comrades in our pockets. The instruction of the Party was: «The communist must not fall alive into the hands of the enemy.» We all realized that it was a battle to the end with the enemy, «giving the police information is consid­ered betrayal and will be punished by the Party.»

All the delegates, some legal others illegal, were sent to different centers, with everything I mentioned above, to organize regional conferences of the Party, from which the Party committees would emerge. As I said, Qemal and I stayed in Tirana to assist in the or­ganization here and to organize the connections with the districts, but also to formulate the Resolution and to write the Appeal, as had been decided at the Meeting. The Pre­paration of the Resolution and the Appeal was a task of the Basic docu­ment of the Communist Party of Albania. The entire Party had to study it and organize itself and fight in all directions on the basis of it.

During this period Qemal and I got to know each other better. Qemal was a kind-hearted, cheerful fellow, profound in his thinking and frank in character, cul­tured, and a brave and resolute communist. He loved music and song. He accompanied his songs with the mandoline, but even without it he could rise to their feet and take up the rifle immediately.

The struggle to have a peaceful and honest resolution, to write the Appeal, as had been decided at the Meeting. It was a document of immense importance which made a deep impression on the people.

When we got stuck over one problem or another, called in those comrades of the Central Committee who were in Tirana and consulted with them. We read them entire paragraphs, cleared up everything that had to be clarified up to the very last detail. But, as is known, for Qemal and me the formulation of the Resolution was only one of the many great tasks of the work.

As everyone knows, just 7-8 days after the ending of the Founding Meeting of the Party, the Communist Youth Movement and the Albanian Workers’ Party were formed. Qemal had been assigned the task of organizing these organizations and mobilizing all the forces of the Party. He was assigned the task of organizing the meetings of the Central Committee. The meetings of the Central Committee were held only in the capital, Tirana and with the support and the mobilization of all the forces that had been mobilized for this purpose.

The meetings of the Central Committee were held only in the capital, Tirana and with the support and the mobilization of all the forces that had been mobilized for this purpose.

By the end of this struggle we had taken the initiative to organize these organizations and mobilize all the forces of the Party. The meetings of the Central Committee were held only in the capital, Tirana and with the support and the mobilization of all the forces that had been mobilized for this purpose.

This whole period of intensive work has remained a very deep memory.

The struggle against the occupiers and traitors was a struggle not only against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occupier and the fighting methods the occupier used, it was a struggle against the occ
The Democratic Front is a militant organization which, under the leadership of the Party, unites the entire Albanian people, organizes and mobilizes the working people in the struggle for the defence of freedom and independence won at the cost of bloodshed and sacrifices, works tirelessly for the construction of the new, socialist, life and for the education of the broad masses with boundless love for the Homeland, with the ideal of socialism and communism.

The Democratic Front is the bearer of the outstanding ideological and political program, is the continuing of the relentless efforts of the progressive Albanian patriots and democrats of all times for the defense of the unity of the nation against the attempts of the imperialist and chauvinist powers to partition the country, for a better life and social justice, in defense of the mother tongue and our ancient culture.

The Democratic Front of Albania has done a major work for the strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party, for the patriotic education and mobilization of the working people for the fulfillment of the tasks of the state plan, especially in the countryside. In the future, too, this organization of the masses, with traditions and authority, should fight to ensure that the political, ideological and moral unity of the people is tempered continuously, that the active role of the masses in the construction and advancement of the state power is constantly increased.

The problems that were discussed, the opinions that were debated in the Conference of Peza, are of a very great importance, because they will help raise the work of the organization of the Party, the enthusiasm of the people, their all-round mobilization at work to a higher level. Our duty, comrades delegates, is to take the revolutionary and militant spirit and the confidence expressed here to the broad masses of the people, to all the corners of Albania, to every city, village, quarter and family, so as to give fresh vigour to all the work in agriculture, industry, education, culture and defence, so as to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks in all fields.

According to our Marxist-Leninist theory, state power does not derive from law. Whether they are debated and voted on at the People's Assembly, the Supreme Soviet, the Sejm, or the bourgeois parliament. The true source of people's state power is in the masses of the people, in their actions, in their direct and continuous control from below, in their initiative.

Therefore, the strength and source of state power lies in the administration, the top officials, that is, in the whole structure of the bureaucratic apparatus. We know that the state belongs to the people when it stems from the people. Therefore, to prevent it from becoming bureaucratized, because they are our people, the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, they should be replaced from time to time, should circulate and be placed under the direct and special control of the state of the people. It must be understood in practice that this state is people's property and cannot be immovable and that they can be dismissed and divested of their functions when the masses of the people demand this.

If the problem of state power, the source of state power, is seen from this angle, that is, with a Marxist-Leninist eye, it is easy to distinguish the real content of the state power from its form. In our socialist country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat is in power, the essence of the problem of state power is the main thing, whereas in the capitalist and revisionist countries the main thing is the form, and the real essence of the state power is the law established by the class in power and not the power of the people. In bourgeois and revisionist democracies, the law established and voted on in the parliament, or in the Supreme Soviet, allegedly in "democratic forums"—elected by the people, is the main thing, but, in fact, this law defends the interests of the bourgeoisie, to sharpen the contradictions and the class struggle, to reach the stage of the armed struggle and enable the proletariat to seize power, but because their political, ideological and organizational views coincide with many of the bourgeois, because their final aims, regardless of the forms and names which they stick to these forms, are identical with those of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, the question of the sovereignty of the people, the question of the worker control, control by the masses, the line of the masses, the correct and rigorous struggle against bureaucratic, the correct implementation of norms regarding the appointment and dismissal of office workers and their rotation from one to another of their wages to the level of wages of people working in production, the drafting and discussion of laws before they are voted on by those elected, these are great principles which our Party has defended and will continue to defend persistently, these are the principles which our Party has developed and will continue to develop in the light of the Marxist-Leninist theory and its rich theoretical and practical experience and through the day-to-day struggle for the construction of socialism.

As true Marxist-Leninists, we must expose the Soviet, Titoite and other modern revisionists, who, in order to avoid self-exposure, strive to preserve the forms of the revolutionary state power, which they have divested of its revolutionary content and have substituted anti-revolutionary, bourgeois ideas for this content.

All the enemies, the imperialists, social-imperialists and revisionists, together separate, are fighting to mislead progressive people, to discredit Marxism-Leninism, and especially to distort the Leninist theory of the revolution, to suppress the revolution and any kind of popular resistance and national liberation struggle. The arsenal of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism is large, but the forces of the revolution are also colossal. These are the forces which are stirring, clashing and fighting with the enemies of the revolution and which have ruined the peace of mind of the capitalist world and world reaction and are making life impossible for them. A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of communism. All the Powers of old Europe... have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre. This observation of Marx and Engels is still valid today. Imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism think that the danger to them from communism has been eliminated, because they believe that the heavy blow which the revolution has suffered from the revisionist betrayal is irreparable, they are underestimating the strength of Marxism-Leninism, and overestimating the material, suppressive military and economic potential which they have at their disposal. This is only an illusion of theirs. The world proletariat is gathering its forces. From their own experience, the proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples are gaining a clearer understanding, day by day, of the treachery of the Titoite, Khrushchevite, «Eurocommunist» and other modern revisionists. Time is working for the revolution, for socialism, and not for the bourgeoisie and imperialism, not for modern revisionism. For the time being the revolution is burning everywhere in the hearts of the oppressed peoples who want to gain their genuine freedom, democracy and sovereignty, to take power into their own hands and to set out on the road of socialism, destroying imperialism and its forces.

That phenomenon of the time of Lenin, when the breakdown from the Second International was followed by the creation of the Leninist parties, is taking place today. The revisionist betrayal has brought about the setting up and strengthening of genuine communist parties, as it is bound to do, everywhere, and these parties have taken upon and raised high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, of the revolution, which the revisionists have rejected and trampled in the mud. On them devolves the burden of opposing the glorious Leninist struggle for the great theory of Marxism-Leninism, to the global strategy of world imperialism and revisionism. On them devolves the burden of making the masses fully conscious of the objectives and the right road of the struggle and the sacrifices it demands, of uniting, organizing, guiding and leading them to victory.

We Marxist-Leninists, who are in the forefront of the gigantic struggle which is being waged today between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples who aspire to freedom, on the one hand, and the savage rapacious imperialists, on the other, must thoroughly understand the aims, tactics, methods and forms which the common enemies and the individual enemies of each country have in the fight. We cannot see this thing properly if we do not base ourselves firmly on the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution, if we do not see in the present situation there are a series of weak links in the capitalist world chain, as there will be in the fronts in which the revolutionaries and the peoples must carry out ceaseless activity, an unrelenting and courageous organized struggle to break the links one after the other. This, of course, requires work, struggle, sacrifices and self-denial. Led by the interests of the proletariat, by the interests of the exploited and the oppressed, the Marxist-Leninist theory correctly, who have a proper view of the interests of the proletariat of their own country, of the world proletariat and the revolution, there will be no vacillations. However, when the waverers see that the comrades are standing firm on their revolutionary Marxist-Leninist opinions, they will be further strengthened in their fight.

We Marxist-Leninists apply the Marxist-Leninist theory correctly and with determination, on the basis of the present international conditions and the national conditions of each country, on the ceaseless struggle against imperialism and world reaction. The fire of the revolution is burning everywhere in the hearts of the oppressed peoples who want to gain their genuine freedom, democracy and sovereignty, to take power into their own hands and to set out on the road of socialism, destroying imperialism and its forces. But such people are mistaken. The revolution cannot be carried out at any time and at any place, according to one's wishes. The revolution breaks out and is carried through at any time and at any place, according to the needs of the development of the world revolution and the liberation of the oppressed peoples, the period of the triumph of socialism on a world scale.

This means that today we are living in the epoch of the replacement of the old exploiting society, which is intolerable for the majority of mankind, for the oppressed and exploited, with a new society in which the exploitation will be done away with once and for all. It was precisely from these fundamental teachings and its Marxist-Leninist analysis of the process of world development that Lenin showed that the present epoch is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. This is the epoch of the destruction of the old capitalist order, colonialism and the world reaction. Is it possible for the forces of imperialism, the bourgeoisie, to preserve its domination and suppress the revolution and any kind of the difficult situations created for them. It is the task of the party to fight for the revolution and the liberation of the oppressed peoples, the period of the triumph of socialism on a world scale.

The communists everywhere in the world have no reason to fear the baseless myths which have predominated in revolutionary thought for some time. The communists must fight to win over those who make mistakes in order to help them mend their ways, making great efforts to this end without, of course, falling into opportunism themselves. In the process of the principled struggle, in the beginning there will be some vacillations but the revolutions will occur among the wave, and all those who are reviewing and applying the Marxist-Leninist theory correctly, who have a proper view of the interests of the proletariat of their own country, of the world proletariat and the revolution, there will be no vacillations. However, when the waverers see that the comrades are standing firm on their revolutionary Marxist-Leninist opinions, they will be further strengthened in their fight.

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For the revolution to break out and triumph, the appropriate objective and subjective conditions must exist, and the favourable moment must be found for launching into revolution. The main thing is that, when they start the revolution, the broad masses of the people, with the proletariat at the head, must be determined and prepared to carry it through to the end.

Lenin stresses that the revolution cannot be carried out by the people of each country, that it is not exported. This does not mean that the Marxist-Leninists, wherever they are, are militating, should not feel themselves solidarity, which should not be linked with one another by the purest feelings of proletarian internationalism, and should not assist the struggle of the proletariat and peoples of other
countries for their liberation. On the contrary, all communists, all proletarians, all the revolutionary forces in the various countries are duty bound to assist the revolution in each particular country and all over the world, through propaganda, agitation, material aid, the example of their determination and selflessness, and by faithful adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Of course, success in the struggle depends on the preparation of the proletariat and its party, on the development of the revolutionary struggle in this or that country. In the Manifesto of the Communist Party Marx and Engels show that the interests of the proletariat and the people of one country are inseparable from the interests of the proletariat and peoples of the entire world. As Lenin and Stalin have confirmed, the revolution triumphs in every country individually. Therefore, this triumph depends, first of all, on the working class and its revolutionary party of each country, on their ability to implement the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the revolution in the concrete conditions.

However, a great deal of confusion has been created around these teachings, and especially, around the Leninist theory on the revolution. Many misconceptions have been laid by the Titoite, Soviet, «Eurocommunist», Chinese, and other modern revisionists, who have taken it upon themselves to spread the revolutionary movement, to mislead people on the issue of the revolution and to prevent its outbreak. Today, when this question is put forward for solution, it is an imperative duty for the Marxists to dispel the fog the revisionists have spread about the revolution, to unmask their manoeuvres and deliberate misrepresentations about this problem, to expose their counter-revolutionary, chauvinist, hegemonic intentions, and to explain that the reality on which the analysis of the revolution rests is not the proletarian movement in one country, but the utilization of this assistance depends, first of all, on the preparation of the proletariat and its party, on the development of the revolutionary struggle in this or that country. In the Constitution of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania, Marxism-Leninism is the leadership in our country, and without this there could be no free Albania and no socialist society.

THE CONSTITUTION OF OUR SOCIALIST COUNTRY IS AN EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF OUR PEOPLE

(From the speech at the meeting of the People’s Assembly of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania)

December 27, 1976

At this session of the People’s Assembly I shall dwell on some of the essential problems of principle of the draft-Constitution. The draft-Constitution of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania is a synthesis which reflects our socialist reality and its trend of development, the line of the Party and its revolutionary teachings and experience, and is pervaded from end to end by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the basic principles of scientific socialism. And this is why the content of the draft has not only been approved by the masses of our working people, who have found in it the faithful expression of the correct line of our Party during the ceaseless development of the party revolution and the construction and defence of socialism, but has also aroused a positive response in the world at large.

The Constitution of our socialist country is an expression of the will of the Albanian people themselves, and nobody else. It is the fundamental law, the basis on which the entire life of the people is carried on. On one hand, this Constitution corresponds to the concrete reality of our country, a reality attained through blood, toil and sweat, and, on the other, it opens to socialist Albania brilliant and sure perspectives from every viewpoint.

Clarity is its characteristic feature, and this is apparent in every article that deals with problems of the structure and superstructure, organization, or the rights and duties of Albanian citizens. Our people, of whatever social origin and cultural level, interpret and implement the articles of the Constitution indivi­dually and collectively in the great interests of the socialist society that is being built under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania which, with great loyalty and consistency, follows and implements the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of our country.

The originality of our Constitution lies in the things in which it differs from the constitutions of other countries. This originality does not split the unity of the people but does not weaken their vitality but invigorates it; does not incite moral and political disorders, but strengthens and tempers the soul and pure virtues of our man, love for one’s comrade, loyalty to the socialist Homeland, the sense of justice. It exalts work as a means of education and the creation of material blessings for the man who struggles, inspired by the desire to raise his individual and family well-being and that of society as a whole, considering these questions as closely and firmly linked in unity and concentrated voluntarily in most democratic forms. The originality of our Constitution lies in the fact that the Party of Labour of Albania is the leadership in our country, and without this there could be no free Albania and no socialist society.

Historical experience has proved that the ideas of genius of the great teachers of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist Homeland, the sense of justice. It exalts work as a means of education and the creation of material blessings for the man who struggles, inspired by the desire to raise his individual and family well-being and that of society as a whole, considering these questions as closely and firmly linked in unity and concentrated voluntarily in most democratic forms. The originality of our Constitution lies in the fact that the Party of Labour of Albania is the leadership in our country, and without this there could be no free Albania and no socialist society.

The draft-Constitution is an expression of the will of the Albanian people and their revolutionary movement. It is the basic law, the expression of the will of the Albanian people themselves, and nobody else.

This constitutional norm, which expresses a great historical victory attained by our country, by the Albanian people, is an expression of the will of the Albanian people themselves, and nobody else. It is the fundamental law, the basis on which the entire life of the people is carried on. On one hand, this Constitution corresponds to the concrete reality of our country, a reality attained through blood, toil and sweat, and, on the other, it opens to socialist Albania brilliant and sure perspectives from every viewpoint.

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Clarity is its characteristic feature, and this is apparent in every article that deals with problems of the structure and superstructure, organization, or the rights and duties of Albanian citizens. Our people, of whatever social origin and cultural level, interpret and implement the articles of the Constitution indivi­dually and collectively in the great interests of the socialist society that is being built under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania which, with
state. None can impose its norms on another. A thing that is agreeable or suitable to one regime may not be agreeable or suitable to another. No state leaves its opinions and beliefs to others, and does not force them, even in critical and polemical form, towards another state. It is logical that there should be truly sovereign states, like ours, that have not agreed and do not agree to obey the "conductor's baton" and no others.

If there are some who want to accept the "conductor's baton" or "the big stick", that is their affair, but our Constitution and our ideology allow and oblige us to oppose such pressures that violate the interests of our socialist state and its people.

Our Constitution sanctions in a clear-cut manner that no one can give himself the right to exercise sovereignty over the territory of Albania on the part of its imperialists, revisionists, reactionaries, or other enemies. In this way we eliminate the danger of aggression or the threat of aggression by them.

The aggression that US-led imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism perpetrates against us is condemned as imperialist, reactionary, or other enemies. In this way we eliminate the danger of aggression or threat of aggression by them.

US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys express "concern" about how socialist Albania will live and develop relying on its own forces without taking credits from the capitalists.

We shall advance on the basis of our own strength. Time and the undeniable reality of our country, the great achievements in the economy, education and culture have confirmed this determination.

We have different concepts about aid in the form of credits that a state receives from abroad. On one hand, there is the aid granted by a fraternal socialist state and, on the other, the credits provided by imperialists, social-imperialists and capitalists. The former is fraternal, disinterested aid, free of political pressure, not linked with passing circumstances, whereas the latter is fraught with conditions, credits provided by imperialists, social-imperialism and world capitalism, in whatever form they are given, is to violate the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples of different countries, by putting them under continuous political pressure.

Our country has never accepted and never will accept such enslaving credits which are nothing else but forms of neo-colonialism.

Our new Constitution leaves no way open to equivocation or interpretation to the detriment of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our country.

At the same time, this constitutional norm also expresses the principles, internationalist, friendly foreign policy followed by socialist Albania, with the aim that its territory will never, and under any circumstances, be used as a base for aggression against other countries and peoples.

The juridical norms of the Constitution dealing with the defence of the country and the victories achieved have found a warm response in the hearts of the heroic and patriotic Albanian people. Even if we are a small country in the world, and our power is small, we shall turn out without feeling our years, standing as straight as the rifles in our hands with which we shall defend the Homeland, fire an anti-imperialist fire with enthusiasm and patriotism, after acquainting ourselves with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

To defend the independence of the country in the economic field, to keep the socialist economic order and the socialist ownership of the means of production violated, the draft-Constitution affirms that in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the granting of credits, the setting up of joint ventures with the bourgeois or revisionist capitalist financial companies and institutions, or participation in joint ventures with the bourgeois or revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as taking credits from them, are prohibited.

American imperialism has perpetrated in Asia, Africa, Czechoslovakia by the revisionist Soviet Union in 1968, and the aggressive wars and the rapacious interventions which US imperialism has pursued in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, etc.

Of great importance for the preservation and strengthening of our independence, the defence of the Homeland and the victories of the revolution is the principle expressed in the draft-Constitution that the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is inviolable and its borders are inviolable. Nobody has the right to sign or to accept the capitulation or occupation of our country and, vice versa, does not allow our state or individual to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries. Our Constitution sanctions in a clear-cut manner that no one can give himself the right to exercise sovereignty over the territory of Albania, for it clearly and unequivocally expresses the determination of the Albanian people and their sovereign right to defend their country. The Constitution does not allow any state or individual to meddle in the internal affairs of our country and, vice-versa, does not allow our state or individual to meddle in the internal affairs of other country.

A socialist state like ours with its most democratic Constitution cannot fail to be on good friendly terms with the peoples of the world.

The provisions of the draft-Constitution affirm the categorical stand of our Party and our people that the establishment of foreign bases and the stationing of foreign troops within the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is prohibited. This principle is of vital importance to Albania, for it clearly and unequivocally expresses the determination of the Albanian people and their sovereign right to defend their country. Of vital importance to Albania, for it clearly and unequivocally expresses the determination of the Albanian people and their sovereign right to defend their country. At the same time, this constitutional norm also expresses the principles, internationalist, friendly foreign policy followed by socialist Albania, with the aim that its territory will never, and under any circumstances, be used as a base for aggression against other countries and peoples.

The juridical norms of the Constitution dealing with
They must be crushed, they must be liquidated, they must be brought to their knees, starved into submission to the Anglo-American imperialists for their pounds sterling and dollars. For 40 years on end, my valiant Albania, you have upheld the principles of Marxism-Leninism, flying the red flag of freedom flying, the red flag with the two-headed eagle, to which you have added the name of Albania, the star of freedom, the star of socialism and communism.

Not for one moment during the 40 years of life in socialism have you, my people, with the Party of Labour at the head, allowed the new perilous and powerful enemies to conquer you. Once again you drew the sword, which was now keen-edged, tempered in the fires of repeated battles, and forged on the anvil of history. With this sword you, my Party, mercilessly drove down the subhuman subhuman and savage classes, the modern revisionists of all hues, and compelled those secret enemies to come to terms. You have denounced to be, and from time to time posed as if they were, Marxist-Leninists and our friends, to throw off their disguise. With these stands and your lofty example, you, my Party, performed your internationalist duty and, at the same time, told others that the struggle against the revisionist currents must not cease, that there could be no agreement or compromise with them, because they were renegades and traitors. The word of our Party, its clear thinking, its courage and determination, its stone heart and became beacons of light not only for the peoples and revolutionaries of the world. You, my socialist Albania, you have never retreated or made any concessions, you have always kept the class struggle ablaze, and it is precisely this great and revolutionizing motive force which has made our small Homeland unsquelchable "either by the sword or the word". It is the power of the proletariat, of socialism, that is, either by revisionism, capitalism, or reaction.

We have many friends and admirers in the world. Our people have always upheld the principles of a great love and respect for Albania, speak with admiration about our country and our socialist reality, and want to see visible and tangible results of all the things that they still do not understand how this reality has been achieved. Therefore, it is our duty to make the victories of the Party of Labour, the Albanian people and socialist Albania known in all their aspects to the peoples, to explain them not only with the present, but with all the glorious past history of the Albanian people. These victories are like a steel chain, the links of which each one is strong and invincible. It is a chain which links each other, which represent, at different stages, the perspective and the resistance of our people to enemy invasion, oppression, slavery, slavery and exploitation, exploitation and the destruction of the peoples and the proletariat are predestined, and so socialist Albania was liberated, and so socialist Albania has been built and is advancing.

In all your actions, heroic Party, you have had a lofty aim, and have always proceeded cautiously but firmly. Your stand has never been one of caving in, you have never been opportunist, but neither have you been sectarian, you have always marched forward and never looked back, and always strove to do your utmost to achieve the aim, which has been conceived to be, and from time to time posed as if they were, Marxist-Leninists and our friends, to throw off their disguise. With these stands and your lofty example, you, my Party, performed your internationalist duty and, at the same time, told others that the struggle against the revisionist currents must not cease, that there could be no agreement or compromise with them, because they were renegades and traitors. The word of our Party, its clear thinking, its courage and determination, its stone heart and became beacons of light not only for the peoples and revolutionaries of the world. You, my socialist Albania, you have never retreated or made any concessions, you have always kept the class struggle ablaze, and it is precisely this great and revolutionizing motive force which has made our small Homeland unsquelchable "either by the sword or the word". It is the power of the proletariat, of socialism, that is, either by revisionism, capitalism, or reaction.

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world level, when I see the great army of our new socialist intelligentsia, the pupils and students, bending over books, or in laboratories, working and singing, producing and managing, and raising healthy happy children, the future of the Homeland. The whole of Albania is in movement, in development, in consistent progress. Today every inch of it is the scene of construction and creation, and a school, and a barricade insurmountable to the enemies, and a stage where our people, the creators of everything, sing to the Party, their life, to freedom and socialism.

The people themselves, with the Party at the head, have created such a situation, that is why when they are working and rejoicing, especially when they come to celebrations, our people express with astonishing force the fine pure feelings which inspire them to have created such a situation, that is why when they can never be stopped, and a stage where our people, the creators of everything, sing to the Party, their life, to freedom and socialism.

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For us, the soldiers of the Party, there can be no greater satisfaction than this, when we see you, our people, masters of your own fate, happy, contented, and free in a sovereign and independent Albania, in an Albania transformed into an impregnable fortress, and with ceaseless socialist development. The satisfaction and pride which we feel is the fruit of the great victories we have achieved, of our uninterrupted efforts, of our permanent concern to ensure that our Party is always at the head, as our tested guide.

We have lived through the past 40 years as revolutionaries know how to live, build and defend. In these years of the epoch of the Party, the Albanian people have achieved and experienced for whole centuries. Everything about it is new and healthy, its appearance and content, its life which is flourishing and gaining new dimensions, the new man endowed with the lofty virtues of the communist ideology, happy and proud about what has been achieved, convinced and conscious about the continuity of our course, of our efforts, our honour and prestige.

During the coming decades the people and Party, firmly united, as always, will do even more for this dear land, for the sake of this country of eagles. Hence, let us guard what we have achieved as the apple of our eye, let us go on consistently to develop it further, to leave the coming generations an Albania ever stronger: always red, like the undying flame of the hearts and ideals of communists and partisans, an Albania which will live and progress through the centuries. I am convinced that the people and the Party will raise our triumphant flag higher and higher, will raise the honour, prestige and name of socialist Albania higher and higher in the world.

We have lived through the past 40 years as revolutionaries know how to live, build and defend. In these years of the epoch of the Party our dear Albania has been transformed to its very foundations, has known that growth, that renewal, that all-round development which it had not experienced for whole centuries. Everything about it is new and healthy, its appearance and content, its life which is flourishing and gaining new dimensions, the new man endowed with the lofty virtues of the communist ideology, happy and proud about what has been achieved, convinced and conscious about the continuity of our course, of our efforts, our honour and prestige.

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All the events—great or small, in the life and activity of the people's state power, all the degrees and stages of its development and strengthening are linked with the indivisible leadership of the Party.

The founders of the revolutionary theory of the working class—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, argued with scientific argument the absolute need for the Party of the Proletariat and its leading role to overthrow the state power of the Bourgeoisie to establish the dictatorship of the Proletariat and to build the socialist society.

The triumph of the People's Revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the successful construction of socialism in Albania are a brilliant vindication of the truth of the Marxist-Leninist Theory applied in real life and a clear evidence of the capacity of the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, to defend and apply Marxism-Leninism creatively in all fields, including that of the Party and its leading role in the State. The rich experience of the struggle for the defence and strengthening of the People's State power and especially of the struggle and activity of the PLA in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement constitute a new contribution of great theoretical and practical value to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

As the many-years history of our socialist state shows, the leadership of the PLA has decisive importance for the fate of the people's state power. With the indivisible leadership of the Party are linked the emergence and the whole process of the growth and development of the people's state power. With the leadership of the Party is also linked the whole activity of the people's state power, the function and perfection of all the organs and organisms that make it up—from the lowest to the highest, as well as their efficiency and militancy.

The leadership of the Party is an inexhaustible source of vitality and strength for the people's state power. Negation in theory and weakening and elimination in practice of the leading role of the party spells death to the party and the state power of the proletariat. The revisionist degeneration of the party in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries paved the way for the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism and the restoration of capitalism in these countries.

The founding of the CPA, by Comrade Enver Hoxha, as a revolutionary party of the working class built on sound Marxist-Leninist organizational and ideological bases, was a decisive turning-point in the history of the Albanian people and their liberation struggle. Here, in this great historic event, lie the roots of the glorious epic of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, here lie the roots of its victory and of the triumph of the revolution, from here begins the struggle for the creation of the new people's state power, here lie the roots of all the victories in the construction of socialism in the PSM of Albania.

With its resolute struggle and heroism, with its persistent and tireless work, with its efforts and sacrifices, the CPA won the trust and unreserved

THE PARTY - THE LEADING FORCE OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER

by PETRO LALAJ, PETRO SHAPO

All the events—great or small, in the life and activity of the people's state power, all the degrees and stages of its development and strengthening are linked with the indivisible leadership of the Party.

The founders of the revolutionary theory of the working class—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, argued with scientific argument the absolute need for the Party of the Proletariat and its leading role to overthrow the state power of the Bourgeoisie to establish the dictatorship of the Proletariat and to build the socialist society.

The triumph of the People's Revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the successful construction of socialism in Albania are a brilliant vindication of the truth of the Marxist-Leninist Theory applied in real life and a clear evidence of the capacity of the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, to defend and apply Marxism-Leninism creatively in all fields, including that of the Party and its leading role in the State. The rich experience of the struggle for the defence and strengthening of the People's State power and especially of the struggle and activity of the PLA in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement constitute a new contribution of great theoretical and practical value to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

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With its resolute struggle and heroism, with its persistent and tireless work, with its efforts and sacrifices, the CPA won the trust and unreserved
support of the insurgent Albanian people and, within a short time, became the inspiring, organizing and the most revolutionary ideology, the ideology of the working class — Marxism-Leninism. The ideology the Albanian communists embraced was the ideology of that class to which the future belonged; was the pivot of their struggle; the world in revolution and lead it to socialism and communism. Hence, the bases of our Communist Party were not built on sand, they were built and reinforced concrete.

The rapid growth of the authority and the enhancement of the leading role of the Party was also influenced by the new organizational forms which enabled and ensured the further mobilization of the masses and gave ever more vigour to the anti-fascist war. With the initiative and under the leadership of the CPA a number of organizations and committees of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement, such as the Youth, the National Liberation Front, the national liberation councils as organs of the new state power, the guerrilla units, the partition detachments, the regular National Liberation Army, and many others were formed. In the process of the struggle these organizational forms were developed, expanded, structured, and extended all over the country.

The activity of the Party in finding and creating new organizational forms as suited the conditions of our country was based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism as well as on the tradi-

tions of the working people and on the experience of the revolutionary liberation movement of other countries. In all this activity there was creativeness and originality both in the order of creation of these organizational forms and in their respec
tive deployment, as well as in their harmonization and co-ordination of the process of the work and struggle. In the history of the Albanian people, which is rich in struggles for freedom and independence, there is no such variety of organizational forms, such dynamic growth, such degree of effi
ciency and perfection as in the National Liberation War.

The National Liberation War and the whole system of its organizational forms were subject to the one aim: to liberate the country and to develop the state power of the occupiers by armed force and to build such new democratic people's power instead. Illuminated by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party posed and solved the question of state power with great wisdom, in accordance with the concrete historical conditions of the country.

The whole process of the emergence, growth and strengthening of the new state power during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War developed under the leadership and constant care of the Party. All the events — great or small, in the life and activity of its vanguard, the Communist Party, to destroy the state power of the occupiers by armed force and to build such new democratic people's power instead. Illuminated by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party posed and solved the question of state power with great wisdom, in accordance with the concrete historical conditions of the country.

The Party and the people's state power which emerged immediately after the liberation of the country carried out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, served as a weapon of class struggle, to destroy the state power of the occupiers and to smash completely the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, to destroy their economic power, to draw the broad masses of small producers of the country and city on to the road of socialism, to build the new socialist order and constantly strengthen the defence potential of the Homeland.

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pointed out, «The Party does not place itself or remain in the leadership by chance. It secured its leading role through its correct line and its persistent struggle and work to put this line into practice. Basing itself on the theory of the most advanced class of society — the proletariat, on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, on the laws of the materialist development of society, the Party has a broad range of vision, an elaborated and scientific opinion. It sees clearly in any situation, understands the present, foresees the future and knows how to anti-cipate events, by defining and always applying a correct line and tactic which express the interests of the working class and the working masses.»

The Party leads in the state and everywhere, in policy and ideology, in the economy, education, culture and science, in the army and in all the other sectors of the life of the country. The Party co-ordinates and harmonizes the activity of all the fields of activity — that of the administrative organs of the people's state power, the organs of the working class, the PLA, the organs of the people's state power, the PLA, the organs of the workers and peasants, etc., etc. These measures have prevented the degeneration and bureaucratization of the PLA.

In analysing the causes of the degeneration of the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, and drawing lessons from their betrayal, the PLA has set out on the course of the further and uninterrupted revolutionization of its ranks. It has worked out and implemented a whole system of measures for the organizational, political and ideological strengthening of its ranks, for the constant preservation and tempering of their unity, for the revolutionary spirit of initiative, for the enhancement of the vanguard role and example of the communists, of the leading role of the party organs, for ever all paths to the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the PLA to remain always a strung-up on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

In fighting to eradicate the causes of bureaucracy and liberalism, the PLA has worked out a whole series of measures to revolutionize the people's state power of which the main ones are: placing cadres under the control of the people, rotation of cadres, work in production for employees and cadres, lowering higher salaries, giving priority to moral over material incentives, direct worker and peasant control, etc. These measures have prevented the degeneration and bureaucratization of employees and cadres and the creation of privileged strata and castes. Among the measures for the revolutionization of the people's state power the definition of roles for the constant strengthening of the organs of state administration, and precisely the establishment of a correct ratio between state and executive organs based on constitutional norms occupy a particularly important place. The constant enhancement of the role of the state organs and people's councils, in particular, is directly linked with the defence and strengthening of the democratic character of our state power, the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIALIST ECONOMY

by HASAN BANJA, BUIJAR KOLANECE

With the further development and strengthening of the socialist economy, with the constant perfecting of the socialist relations of production, with the increase of the conscious activity of the working masses in the government of the country and in the management of the economy, the economic-organizational and cultural-educational function of the socialist state assumes a further development and extension.

The greatest change in the historical destinies of the Albanian people, the transition from the feudal-bourgeois order to the communist order, with socialism as its first phase, corresponds to the done work from the old state of the dictatorship of the proletariat which was born in the heat of the anti-fascist national liberation war, on the ruins of the old state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is the powerful and decisive weapon to carry the socialist revolution forward, to the all-round development of the socialist economy to the service of the people, to the economic organization and cultural-educational function of the socialist state which is still continuing.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, "Wielding with wisdom and consistency the political power we had created and won through war, the Party also instructed us and led us on the correct road to win economic power so as to place the economy, too, in the service of the people and in the hands of the people."2

The socialist system of the economy created a completely new situation and posed new tasks before the socialist state. The ever increasing activity of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the field of the economy includes now the organization and centralized management of the social production according to a single and general state plan; the rapid development of the productive forces and the constant perfecting of the socialist relations of production; the establishment and implementation of such a distribution of the social product as to ensure its direct social use on the scale of the whole economy; the establishment and application of a unified system of statistics, accounting and control of production and distribution, the realization of the aim of socialist production which is the ever better fulfillment of the ever growing material and cultural needs of the working people, of the economy and the defence of the Homeland. It has been proved both in theory and practice that the state of the production there is and can be no state planning and regulation of the economy on a national scale.

The socialist private ownership of the means of production divides the producers whose fundamental interests are in constant mutual contradiction. As a result anarchy and competition are the inevitable sequels of capitalism. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "The present crisis is the crisis and failure of state monopoly capitalism. The mechanism of the state monopoly regulation of the economy has not only proved to be powerless against crises, but has been transformed into another factor increasing the economic difficulties. Thus, it has been proved that the intervention of the monopoly state, the capitalist programming, are unable to eliminate competition, to ensure full employment of the population and to eliminate the obstacles to extended social reproduction."3

The socialist economy which is based on the socialist social ownership of the means of production and the joint work of the members of society, can function and be managed as a unified and indivisible system only in a planned manner, from a single and unified centre. In the conditions of socialist society in which class distinctions continue to exist and the class struggle goes on both on the internal and on the external plane, only the socialist state can be the single centre of the organization and management of the socialist economy.

The theoretical Marxist-Leninist thought and the practice of our socialist construction have proved that social ownership of the conditions of a truly socialist economy, as our economy is, the main and essential questions of its development such as rates, dimensions and proportions of the extended socialist reproduction, territorial distribution of the production forces, problems which have to do with the narrowing of the essential differences between city and country, between mental and physical work, exercise of control on
the amount of work and consumption, etc., are established and defined by the socialist state in a planned manner. Questions cannot be left to the market and its spontaneous forces, as the modern revisionists claim, because this would mean that the socialist state, by disengaging itself from the management of the national assets, disproportions and class polarizations.

In order to carry out its economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions the socialist state concentrates in its hands the credit system, wages and prices, banking and precious metals, follows and implements a unified and centralized policy in the whole process of the country on the road of socialism. As a whole, the system of state management and organization of our economy, as well as the mechanism of its functioning built in accordance with the requirements of the economic laws of socialism, have appropriately responded to the aims of a socialist planned economy. It has played and continues to play a major role in increasing social production, the national income, and socialist accumulation, in the fullest possible implementation of the principle of self-reliance. Through the functioning of this system of management and the economic mechanisms which underly it, our economy and society have been strengthened and developed uninterruptedly.

With the further development and strengthening of the socialist economy, with the constant perfecting of the socialist relations of production, with the increase of the conscious activity of the working masses in the management of the country and in the management of the economy, the economic-moral, educational and decision-making function of the socialist state assumes a given period constitutes one of the fundamental problems of the planned development of the economy. The enemy of socialism, the capitalist bourgeoisie, and those who believe in the competitive system, know very well that the socialist state can ever exercise these functions, because the private ownership of the means of production is the basis on which it relieves and which divides and alienates the producers among themselves. Here lies the source of those socio-economic phenomena which it relies and which divides itself against the law of value and the spontaneous forces, as the high and steady rate development of socialist agriculture. This key branch of the economy developed on the basis of large-scale modern production makes an irreplaceable contribution to the feeding of the people, the industrialization of the country, and the development of the national economy. This was made possible as a result of the implementation of the policy of the Party for the socialist transformation of agriculture. The state makes a particularly important contribution to the modernization and intensification of agricultural production through investments to increase the fertility of the land, to raise the level of mechanization of the farm work, and to extend the irrigation network, to develop fruit-growing, to supply agriculture with chemical fertilizers, insecticides and selected seeds, through agrarian credits, the training at cadres and specialists, etc.

The centralized management of the economy on the basis of a unified general state plan, as our historical experience shows, represents the most advanced and most effective form of state management which responds to the needs of a genuinely socialist society. Moreover, it represents the only regulating mechanism which is objectively indispensable for the development of socialism, because, when every economic sector, each branch of the different sectors and branches of the economy and culture, between untoward changes and the laws of economy, remains an important task for the management and development of the country over a given period. The plan represents the main means of controlling and coordinating the exploitation of human labor, the transformation of the socialist society, and the management of the economy. Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «The problem is about the constant strengthening and synchronized operation of the system, so that everyone carries out with precision, with the least trouble and loss, the tasks which the society abolishes democracy and stifles the initiative of the masses. According to the revisionists, socialism in the state, social and state property are irreconcilable notions and the dominant role of the state in the management of the economy lasts only for a short period, during a «transient phase» which depends on the degree of social development, the work for the all-round education of the masses to the inner degeneration of socialist society, assume particular importance. The reason for the shortcomings and misinterpretation is that the revisionism is accompanied with the uncompromising implementation of the principle of the management of the planned economy and development of the economy. The whole our country advances on the road of socialism the more the role of the masses increases in the planned management of production and the whole economic life of the country, thereby giving state management more and more a profoundly popular character. The broader and more concrete participation of the masses in the conscious activity of the state and the mass debate, the more correct the generalizations and the tasks posed for increasing the efficiency of leading work in the development of the socialist economy.

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The management of the economy by the socialist state has always been seen and treated in a dialectical manner, in close connection with the phase reached and the perspectives opened to the development of the production forces and the perfection of the socialist relations of production.

At present life calls for further improvements in the planning system, especially, in order to reflect and materialize in the plan all those cooperating links between enterprises, cooperatives and districts as well as economic branches so as to harmonize always correctly the different economic and financial planned indices which express in a concrete manner the requirements of the economic laws in every cell and link of the economy.

The problem today is that plans should be further improved, as well as the organization and management of affairs on their part.

An important problem in the state management of the economy remains the keeping of correct ratios between the quantitative and qualitative, technical, financial and economic indices, both in kind and in value.

In this process the whole system of enterprises and centralized net income of the state, etc. Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have never allowed the emergence in our socialist economy of such relations based on economic categories as are not in the nature of the socialist system of the economy and the socialist relations of production such as the average profit rate on capital, interpretation of efficiency from the position of the economy, interest on capital or the so-called pay on funds, etc., which are practised on a large scale in the economy of the bourgeois and revisionist countries.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of the effectiveness of production in socialism occupies a central place in the complex and planned employment of economic levers. The aim of the social production, the ever better fulfillment of the increasing needs of the whole society, lies at the foundation of this concept. From this stems also the orientation of our Party about the efficiency of production which is based on the thesis that important though bread and steel, oil and cement, textiles may be, financial sources are just as important and necessary, because if these are reduced or dry up, the former will necessarily be reduced, too. This constitutes the abc of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the efficiency of production in socialism. In socialist society any increase of the social product and the absolute growth of accumulation and the improvement of the well-being of the people, is equivalent to the real raising of the efficiency of the economy, in general. This kind of efficiency ensures the creation and high-rate development of the socialist economy, the increase of accumulation, the improvement of the well-being of the people, as well as the strengthening of the political and economic independence of the country.

The reality of socialist Albania clearly shows the strength and the well-thought and effective solution of the socialist economic system in accord with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete historical conditions of our country. In a synthesized manner this is apparent in the major achievements of which the most important are: high and steady rates of increase of the social product and the national income. In 1983, as compared with 1950, the total social product has increased 12.7 fold, the total industrial production 37.4 fold and the total agricultural production 4.4 fold, meeting the needs of the extended socialist reproduction with the sources of internal production without any credit or economic «aid» from abroad, with power sources and primary materials from industry and agriculture balancing export with import, so as to neutralize the imperialist-revisionist pressure and blockade and the influence of the world capitalist crisis on the economy of our country; occupation with work of the constantly growing active population and further and improving the well-being of the people at a time when the population growth rates of our country are among the highest in Europe. In 1933, as compared with 1950, the growth of the social product has been 5.5 times higher than the growth of the population.

All these taken together constitute the solutions and achievements with which the socialist system of our economy has ensured and which could not even be imagined in the past. They also represent the historical experience of the construction of socialism in Albania.

THE ROAD OF THE INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

by STAVRI MITEI

The major changes made in agriculture, the placing of agricultural production on the basis of large-scale socialist production, created the possibilities for its development in breadth and depth, the increase of yields per hectare of land sown and per head of livestock, as the main road for the increase of agricultural production today and in the future.

Our Party has always considered the development of agriculture as one of the main directions of the general economic and social development of the country, therefore, the problems of its general development, the advancement of our socialist countryside, have been the object of its great attention. An activity.

The socialist transformation of our agriculture, the technical progress and modernization of the countryside, constitute one of the outstanding activities of the Party, the people's state power and our working masses. Albania, with a restricted agricultural area and a small population, with the experience of the tremendous inheritance from the past and beset by savage enemies, succeeded in solving, within a short period of time, very complicated problems of a political, technical, cultural, ideological and social character in the countryside and proceeds towards completing the construction of the socialist countryside.

The party of Labour of Albania has stuck to the principle that in order to create a strong national economy, in general, and to carry out the complete construction of socialist society successfully we must have not only a developed and powerful industry, but also an advanced agriculture. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Strength of the national economy, both on industry and on agriculture, is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition for the fulfillment of the social and harmonious development, for the increase of its degree of self-activity.»

In estimating agriculture as one of the basic branches of the economy, our party bases itself on the fact that this branch ensures the agricultural and livestock products needed to feed the population, creates and exports, the material basis for the socialist construction, as an indispensable condition, the socialist state power, etc., as well as for restricting new building, roads, etc., as well as for restricting new building, roads, etc.

The experience of the socialist construction of our country shows that the planned and intensive development of productive forces, both in the state sector and in the cooperativist sector, is an indispensable condition for the development of a strong national economy, our agriculture extricated itself once and for good from single production which is characteristic of every country with backward agriculture. The structure of bread grain production, too, has been improved in the direction of the increase of area, which previously occupied about 30 per cent of the area of sown area, and now occupies 70 per cent of it.

The major changes made in agriculture, the placing of agricultural production on the basis of large-scale socialist production, created the possibilities for its development in breadth and depth, the increase of yields per hectare of land sown and per head of livestock, as the main road for the increase of agricultural production today and in the future.

In the framework of all the factors of the development of agriculture, the placing of agricultural production on the basis of large-scale socialist production, created the possibilities for its development in breadth and depth, the increase of yields per hectare of land sown and per head of livestock, as the main road for the increase of agricultural production today and in the future. Nevertheless, the extension and cultivation of new areas of individual and remains a constant national duty, an indispensability to make up for the continuous occupation of agricultural lands by developing lands allocated to constructions, to the extension of roads of communication, reservoirs, etc., as well as for the process of the reduction of the arable land per capita of population.

At present our country has 1/5 of a hectare per capita of population, at a time when our neighbours and most of the other countries of Europe have 1/3 or even half a hectare per head of population. Therefore, although priority is given to the development of agriculture on the intensive road, work is still going on for the increase of the area of field crop, the increase of livestock, especially the arable land, the increase of its degree of self-activity, the increase of its degree of self-activity.

The possibilities for opening up new lands are increasingly reduced. Therefore, the main road to cope with this problem, with the large-scale increase of agricultural production remains the road of husbanding the land and continuously increasing its fertility by means of systems of fertilization, the application of advanced technology in its ploughing, combined manuring, etc. In the given conditions, the intensive development of agricultural production is the only a developed and powerful industry, but also an advanced agriculture. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Strength of the national economy, both on industry and on agriculture, is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition for the fulfillment of the social and harmonious development, for the increase of its degree of self-activity.»

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ment of intensification of agriculture, a role of first-hand importance has been played by the improvement of the material-technical and organizational base of agriculture, especially, the intensive agricultural development and narrow specialization aimed at immediate profits which is followed in the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries, for the intensification of agriculture even in the above-mentioned regions. This is confirmed by the Party in the overall development of the country and the consolidation of the socialist order.

Thanks to the great agricultural achievements which have been made in land development schemes and in the material-technical base of agriculture, especially through the increased productive capacity, as well as other measures that have been taken in parallel with these, high yields from them, this is explained why the increase in agricultural production was ensured from the increase of yields of agricultural production and the productivity of livestock, and the remaining 44 per cent was ensured from the extension of the area under cultivation. In the 6th Five-year Plan, 1976-1980, the rates of increased productivity per head of livestock accounted for 85 per cent of the increase of production, and 85 per cent of the increase of area under cultivation and mechanization was ensured from the increase of productivity.

The first stage of this program, which is being applied in the current year, the 7th Five-year Plan, the target for this year is to take in about 43.5 quintals of wheat per hectare on the coastal plains and 20.5 quintals in the mountainous area, 17.5 quintals of cotton per hectare, 24 quintals of sunflower per hectare, 2,750 litres of milk from each cow milk, 90 kg of meat from each cow.

At the present stage, there are many agricultural economies, sectors of the economy and enterprises in which the production is in such high yields that have exceeded even the forecasts for 1985. In the conditions of the complete inactivity of the revisionists for the strengthening of the socialist community, a thing which is being applied in the current year, the 7th Five-year Plan, the target for this year is to take in about 43.5 quintals of wheat per hectare on the coastal plains and 20.5 quintals in the mountainous area, 17.5 quintals of cotton per hectare, 24 quintals of sunflower per hectare, 2,750 litres of milk from each cow milk, 90 kg of meat from each cow.

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THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES
OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR
OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

Although our people’s revolution was carried out in the framework of the national liberation, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and anti-feudal tasks, it opened the road for its own transformation into socialist revolution and the socialist construction of the country.

THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WERE AMONG THE FIRST TO PUT UP AN ARMED RESISTANCE TO AGGRESSION IN THE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED CONDITIONS WHEN THEY WERE BETRAYED BY THE RULE CLASS, CLASSES AND DEPRIVED OF EVERY OUTSIDE HELP AND SUPPORT.


Initially, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of all the peoples suffering under fascist occupation consisted one single revolutionary process directed against the same enemies, which was aimed at achieving national liberation from fascist slavery and establishing a people’s democratic order in favour of the working masses. Precisely in the context of this single revolutionary process must be sought the specific features of the anti-fascist war of each country.

Without making a rigorous analysis of the general and the specific for each country it is impossible to reach correct and all-sided conclusions. Various foreign authors have carried out such studies which lack differentiation that followed in the course of the war.

In describing the general features of the anti-fascist revolution, they fail to point out, for instance, the original way in which this revolution was carried out in our country, which, without doubt, developed in a manner different from the revolution, we might say, in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, or Hungary.”

The characteristic features of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people were determined in the objective and subjective, internal and external, conditions.

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people was transformed into an anti-imperialist people’s democratic revolution. This constitutes the fundamental feature of this war. This revolution was a relatively long, uninterrupted process which, in its course, carried out a series of increasingly radical political transformations which created the premises for socio-economic transformations in the life of the country.

From the beginning to the end, the war against the fascist occupiers did not go beyond the bounds of the National Liberation War. But the situation that was created objectively, and in particular, the profound social differentiation that followed in the course of the war for the liberation of the country, put on the agenda the need for radical socio-political transformations. This does not mean that the platform, which had been adopted in the beginning of the organized anti-fascist resistance, was altered. Right to the end of the war, the main enemy remained the foreign invader. As a result, the struggle against the foreign occupiers was always the first priority.

In the western bourgeois historiography the thesis that the civil war between the National Liberation Movement and the reactionary organizations of the Balli Kombëtar and Legalitë, prevalent in Albania in the course of the Second World War, has gained circulation. Since the time of the war, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, rejected this thesis. He has emphasized: “There are no internal quarrels and less so a civil war in Albania. There is only one quarrel and one war: war against the occupier, in the first place, and against its traitor tools.”

The National Liberation Front of Albania has always been against fratricidal war and the transforming of this war.

It is obvious that in the time when our country languished under the fascist jackboot, it was more than ever necessary to unite and mobilize the whole Albanian people in the war against the occupiers, who used every imaginable means to encourage a fratricidal war in order to split the unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, and consequently, liquidate the National Liberation Movement. The reactionary landowners and bourgeoisie were also interested in sparking off a civil war, because in the National Liberation War and in its transformation into a popular revolution they saw the end of their rule. Therefore, they made common cause with the German occupiers against the National Liberation Front. For them the main enemy was the National Liberation Front and not the occupiers. Comrade Enver Hoxha explains: “For reaction and its traitor organizations the main contradictions became those with the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front. They turned these contradictions into antagonistic contradictions, attacking us with arms in joint actions with the occupiers at a time when the National Liberation Front did its utmost not to allow the contradictions with the Balli Kombëtar and Legalitë to become antagonistic contradictions.”

In these circumstances, our National Liberation War was directed not only against the foreign enemy, but also against the local enemy. It was carried out and aimed both against the one and the other enemy. For victory to be achieved, both sides, which were irrevocably connected with one another, had to be fought.

However, this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the struggle of the National Liberation Front against the Balli Kombëtar and Legalitë was a civil war, in spite of the fact that it contained in itself elements of this war, both in content and in form.

The struggle of the National Liberation Front against traitor organizations which collaborated with the occupier, cannot be labeled a civil war, because it did not constitute a

SOTIR MANUSHI
Senior Lecturer at the
V. I. Lenin Higher Party School
war in itself, but was part of the revolutionary war against foreign enemies, it was directed against them and the occupiers and their reactionary forces and groupings, it is obvious that the struggle against the Balli Kombetar, Legalisti and other reactionary forces and groupings, could not be described as a civil war.

The fact that the revolutionary classes allied themselves to the occupiers and were destroyed together with them, was pointed out as a decisive factor which favoured the transformation of the National Liberation War into a popular revolution in Albania.

Another important feature of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people consists in the original ways that were followed for the establishment of the people's state power.

The necessity of the creation of the National Liberation Army was born in 1942 and went through some stages. The new Albanian state had to be created in the procedure of the liquidation of monarchy. The only political party in the Front, which carried out the functions of the National Liberation Front, on the one hand, and the occupiers and their tools, on the other.

After developing from a lower to a higher stage, the new people's democratic state was established in November 1944.

In this manner, in the course of the National Liberation War, the necessary condition for the successful development of the National Liberation War was pervaded through and through by the occupiers and the reactionary forces and groupings. The new Albanian people fought against the fascist occupiers for the creation of the new state power.

The creation of the state of people's democracy in Albania, marked, in fact, the liquidation of monarchy. The threis that the monarchy was maintained in all the revolutionary war, means the liquidation of our people's freedom and Homeland cloister. And this is understandable. The tasks of the national liberation struggle which were followed from the very beginning of the war, could not be separated from the tasks of the armed struggle; indeed, they could not be solved without a revolutionary state. For these reasons the setting up of the state power's state power was a necessary condition for the successful development of the National Liberation War.

The people's state power in Albania was not established in peaceful forms, it was born in struggle and with the utmost force. It was not the result of grafting on or combination with the landowner reactionary state, and state. Therefore, over the question of the state power, a life-and-death struggle was waged between the National Liberation Front, on the one hand, and the occupiers and their tools, on the other.

After developing from a lower to a higher stage, the new people's democratic state was established in November 1944. With the decisions of this Congress and of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, in the procedure of the liquidation of monarchy, the new Albanian people's state power was solved in general. Naturally, this does not mean that the question of state power in Albania was definitively solved from the very beginning of the Congress. In the first place, it was solved through the armed struggle which the new Albanian people waged against the fascist occupiers and the traitors of the country.

However, the fact that the Congress of Permet did not explicitly liquidate the monarchy, claim the Republic, does not mean, as is claimed, that monarchy was maintained until the end of the war. The other anti-fascist fronts of Permet to foe conditioned, in the framework of this war, our effort towards the creation of a state power; we were permitted to fight against the occupiers and the reactionary forces and groupings, the creation of the Albanian people against them was paved through and through by armed fights and convictions. The popular revolution was not only an anti-imperialist democratic revolution, but also an anti-monarchic revolution. Therefore, we are justified in reaching the conclusion that the congress of Permet liquidated it not only by fact but also by law, as a result of the popular revolution. The anti-fascist National Liberation Army, its transformation into a profound popular revolution, the setting up of the revolutionary people's state power of the national liberation councils, etc., all this was not in the nature of a monarchy.

It is understandable that in the time of the National Liberation Congress when the national liberation was raised as a question from which solution of other tasks depended, and when in the struggle to achieve victory, the Albanian people required without excluding from this struggle even those strata with some slight shade of monarchic opinions, the National Liberation Front judged that the only way to do was to allow the people to decide on the form of government after liberation. According to the considerations that the Congress of Permet judged not to proclaim the country technically, that the People's Republic of Albania was established on January 11, 1946 by the Constituent Assembly legitimized a situation that existed practically even in the period of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people.

In this manner, in the course of the war, without waiting for the end of the war, the state of the fascist occupiers emerged from the situation as it was organized in 1939; fascism was demolished and the new democratic state of the national liberation councils was set up in its place, indeed, when the necessary conditions were created the Democratic Government was formed and the new Albanian state power grew up, because the people's state power would be based on the internal and external situations of that time, on the other.

Along with the solution of the question of state power in Albania, the National Liberation Congress also made a fundamental decision — the National Liberation Front was created and strengthened in the heat of the war against the fascist occupiers and the traitors of the country, on the basis of the anti-fascist revolutionary platform which was developed at the congress of Per­met in September 1942.

The union of the Albanian people in Albania was directed against them and the occupiers and their reactionary forces and groupings, it is obvious that this army would become the armed support of the new state. Interestings the fact that there is no state, including the revolu­tionary state, which can stand on its feet without its armed support.

Both in the creation and in the growth and strengthening of the National Liberation Army the concept of self-reliance has been applied in a conscious manner. Only in this way was it possible to ensure the triumph of the uprising, the popular revolution. The high degree of the people's armed struggle, such as the training of military-political cadres, the organization of new units, the supply of weapons, munition, clothing and food, could be achieved only on the basis of this major principle.

The National Liberation Army, with its strength and power, with its victories, was decisively supported by the people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, which organized the people's army, according to the historic mission with success. It dropped all forms of occupation forces, destroyed the old political order and all the reactionary forces, which sought to make common cause with the occupiers, and became the shield that defended the newly established state.

The simultaneous solution of three tasks: the unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, the organization of the general armed uprising of the people and the creation of the regular National Libera-
Finally, one of the features of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people consists also in the fact that, with the complete liberation of the country, the anti-imperialist democratic revolution was transformed into socialist revolution. The Albanian people, led by the working class and the Communist Party, won the decisive political battle against the exploiting classes in the conditions of the liberation war against the occupiers and traitors. This war was ceaselessly transformed into a socialist revolution on account of the forces that motivated it, the leadership and the direction of development which it followed objectively.

The new situation created in Albania after the Congress of Përmet in the last months before Liberation, as a result of the successive victories of the National Liberation Movement against the occupiers and their collaborators and the defeat of the reactionary state and the organized forces of exploiting classes, prepared the terrain for the transition to the socialist revolution after the liberation of the country. The experience of our country demonstrates that the socialist state can emerge directly from the national liberation war. This is something new in the theory and practice of the revolution. In this manner, although our people's revolution was carried out in the framework of the national liberation, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, anti-feudal tasks, it opened the road for its own transformation into socialist revolution and for the socialist construction of the country.

Our new historiography finds that the thesis that the orientation for the socialist revolution in Albania was issued in February 1946, is entirely groundless. This thesis confuses two different concepts, that on the deepening of the socialist revolution and socialist construction with that on the orientation for the socialist revolution. Not February 1946, but the liberation of the whole country and the establishment of the people's state power, the state of the working class and the people's state power. The experience today has shown that the carrying out of the bourgeois-democratic tasks is an absolute premise for the realization of the socialist tasks. This was clearly shown also by the experience of the October Socialist Revolution. In the first period after its triumph, the democratic tasks prevailed. Indeed, only the socialist revolution can carry the bourgeois-democratic tasks through to the end.

The fact that the character of the state in Albania did not change during the reforms which it carried out, whether they were of a democratic or of a socialist character, clearly shows that our state was, from the beginning, a dictatorship of the proletariat which was born in the National Liberation War and the people's revolution which the Albanian people carried out.


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NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS - REFLECTION OF THE HATRED OF THE PEOPLES AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS

by PASKAL MILO

The peoples have never reconciled themselves to the foreign occupiers. Their fiery patriotic feelings have inspired them to rise against the usurpers of their land, no matter how great or strong they may be. This struggle remains indispensable for any people that cherish the ideals of freedom and national independence.


There are profound economic, political, social and ideological causes for the peoples to take up arms and rise in struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism. The bourgeois and revisionist ideologues, the whole arsenal of the propaganda means of the superpowers and other imperialist powers, have always tried to cover up the true causes which impel the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to take up arms and rise in struggle against imperialism and anti-imperialist wars. They have put into circulation such views as present these wars as revolts of backward and underdeveloped peoples, wars of a religious character, etc. The imperialist and revisionist bourgeoisie distorts the inner economic and socio-political motives of the anti-imperialist liberation wars and refuses to acknowledge their main cause — the imperialist and socialist-imperialist interference and occupa-
on the struggles in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America: about 90 billion dollars each year. Only 570 million people in the countries of Africa and Latin America suffer as a result of inequal trade, in excess of 22 billion dollars in the first year as a result of the struggle. The peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is not the struggle for national liberation and the defence of freedom and national independence, but the non-capitalist road of development or «socialist orientation». By applying offensive labels to these struggles, the bourgeoisie propaganda tries to distort their true character, to present them as terrorist expressions of the revolt of some groups which supposedly are isolated from the people and operate against their interests. The fact that some country may have groups operating by such methods, apart from anything else, does not mean that these groups are isolated from the people and operate against their interests. As a result of this systematic and all-round plunder, oppression and exploitation, the level of the socio-economic development and the standard of living in those countries remain very low. Hunger has reached catastrophic proportions. According to UNO data, 570 million people in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America suffer from lack of food. Only within 1985, 5.5 million people starved to death in 24 African countries. In the developing countries there are 800 million illiterate people. 1.5 billion people have almost no possibility of receiving medical aid and more than 300 million are partially or totally unemployed.

The peoples have never reconciled themselves to the foreign occupiers. Their fiery patriotic feelings have inspired them to rise against the usurpers of their land, no matter how great or strong they may be. This struggle remains indispensable for any people that cherish the ideals of freedom and national independence. Today the flames of the national liberation wars or wars to defend national independence from imperialism and social-imperialism have spread almost all over the world. In Europe, the peoples of Northern Ireland are fighting for liberation against the British colonialists. In the Middle East, the Palestinian people are continuing their armed struggle to return to their homeland occupied by the Israelis. The Lebanese patriots, the progressive forces that fight for the liberation of southern Lebanon, are fighting against the same enemy. In Asia, national liberation wars are successfully being waged in Afghanistan, the Philippines, Eastern Timor, etc. Namibia and Azania continue to be centres of the struggle for freedom in Africa. The front of the people's liberation movements is even broader in Latin America. On that continent, the peoples of Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, and others are fighting to shake off the hated twofold yoke of American imperialism and the local fascist dictatorial regimes. In the region, the Nicaraguan people have risen to defend their national independence against the Somoza gangs and the interference and plots of the United States. This short survey of the geographical extension of the national liberation movements in the world is the best refutation of those bourgeois-revisionist views which in one way or another deny or ignore the liberation struggles of the peoples. According to the Soviet revisionists, the main trend in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is not the struggle for national liberation and the defence of freedom and national independence, but the so-called «internationalist assistance». By applying offensive labels to these struggles, the bourgeoisie propaganda tries to distort their true character, to present them as terrorist expressions of the revolt of some groups which supposedly are isolated from the people and operate against their interests. The fact that some country may have groups operating by such methods, apart from anything else, does not mean that these groups are isolated from the people and operate against their interests.
liberation movements. When all the so-called peaceful means and methods have not yielded the results hoped for the two superpowers intervened directly with their military forces. The history after the Second World War knows many such cases. In order to maintain their neo-colonial rule, the superpowers and the other imperialist powers constantly increase the occupation forces, the number of «advisers» and the military and police forces of reactionary regimes: thus, the Soviet troops in Afghanistan have increased from 100,000 in December 1979 to 140,000 in 1984. The British occupiers have doubled their military and police forces in Northern Ireland during the last ten years. The fascist regime of South Africa keeps 110,000 occupation troops in Namibia. In 1984 there were 1,500 American «advisers» in Salvador and Honduras. Washington has reckoned that for the partisan movement in Salvador to be stamped out an army of 120,000 men is needed instead of the army of 37,000 of that country now. The American congress endorsed the expenditure of 21 million dollars to levy, equip and supply an army of 10,000 to overthrow the lawful government of Nicaragua.

In the arsenal of the methods of the imperialist pressures, threats for the suppression of the national liberation movements figure genocide, mass extermination, scorched earth tactics, alteration of the demographic map of a country by violence, etc. These fascist and inhuman methods were used by the American imperialists in Vietnam, are being used today by the Soviet social-imperialists in Afghanistan, by the Israeli Zionists in the occupied Arab territories, by the South-African racists in Namibia and Africa. About 75,000 innocent inhabitants of Afghanistan have died as result of the persecutions and punitive expeditions of the Soviet occupiers and the puppet army during the five years of occupation. More than four million Afghans have fled their country and two million others have abandoned the combat areas and taken refuge in the cities. In the Philippines more than 5,000 people have been killed since 1972 when the state of emergency was proclaimed, in Eastern Timor 200,000 people, or 33 per cent of the population have died as a result of the terror of the Indonesian occupiers, of hunger and disease. In Salvador, during the last five years about 50,000 civilians have been killed by the forces of the reactionary army and police, while one million others have been obliged to abandon their home places in order to escape the terror and persecutions. These facts, which are common knowledge, demonstrate once again the inhuman nature of imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionary regimes in their service. They have torn the mask off Washington, Moscow and all the neo-colonialist powers which have raised demagogy to a system to cover up their policy of ruthless and savage oppression, exploitation of the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The national liberation wars are a phenomenon in constant development. They reflect the hatred and indignation of the peoples against capitalist exploitation and imperialist yoke. They are another expression of the crisis and decay of capitalism. As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «These wars confirm that imperialism is heading for, the abyss, that it is no longer capable of stopping the revolutionary drive of the peoples who dare to rise against it and are not intimidated by the imperialist powers and their tools even armed interventions.»

1 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA, p. 175, Eng. ed.
2 Enver Hoxha, Reflections on the Middle East, p. 248, Eng. ed.